UN CHRONICLE

March 1993, Volume XXX, Number 1

'The First Truly Global Era Has Begun'

United Nations Department of Public Information

OUR COVER

Towards a 'people-centred' era . . .

While this is a time of turbulence and uncertainty for many, of anarchy for some and of bewilderment and fear for others, the UN Day message from Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 24 October 1992 was one of hope. "Despite the news of wars, hunger, homelessness and disease affecting millions, the world is moving towards a new, more participatory, people-centred way of conducting international affairs", he said. "The first truly global era has begun."

Evidence of this new epoch, as reflected in our cover collage, is seen in: the rapidly expanding membership of the UN, now 180 strong; a global consensus on the priorities set out in the Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Peace"—the major outcome of the historic January 1992 Security Council Summit; the new UN humanitarian relief system; the growing number and complexity of UN peace-keeping and peacemaking operations around the world; and the top-of-the-agenda status of such global priorities as sustainable development, which dominated the June 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro.

The *UN Chronicle* too enters a new era with Issue 1, 1993, having been redesigned by former *Newsweek* cover art director, Ron Meyerson, using the elegant, authoritative Novarese typeface. It is our hope that the magazine, as it begins its 30th year with a new look, will prove to be more readable and visually pleasing in presenting the diverse array of issues before the United Nations.

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The 38th Floor

Security Council considers 'An Agenda for Peace' proposals

A series of special Security Council meetings have been launched to review specific proposals put forward in the Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Peace", with the aim of strengthening and making more effective the capacity of the UN for preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping.

The Council met to discuss peace-keeping on 29 October, fact-finding on 30 November, and special economic problems faced by States as a result of sanctions imposed under Chapter VII of the UN Charter on 30 December.

The Agenda report *(A/47/277-S/24111)*, a multifaceted plan issued on 23 June 1992, was prepared by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in response to a request from the historic summit session of the Security Council on 31 January 1992. The Agenda features many novel ideas aimed at honing the UN's ability to identify conflicts, bring about their short- and long-term solutions, and foster peace among former adversaries.

UN Photo 181879/M. Grant

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali consulting on 29 October with Security Council President Jean-Bernard Mérimée of France.

The examination of the Agenda was coordinated with discussions in the General Assembly. Council members decided it would meet at least once a month to discuss the Agenda proposals which concern it or were addressed to it in order to arrive at conclusions to be considered at a special Council meeting, possibly in the spring of 1993.

In a statement *(S/24728)* issued on 29 October after the discussion on peace-keeping, the Council encouraged Member States to inform the Secretary-General of their willingness to provide forces or capabilities to the UN for peace-keeping operations and the type of units or capabilities that might be available at short notice, "subject to overriding national defence requirements and the approval of the Governments providing them".

It favoured an enhanced peace-keeping planning staff within the UN Secretariat, as well as an operations centre to deal with the growing complexity of initial planning and control of peace-keeping operations in the field, using "appropriately experienced" military or civilian staff to be supplied by Member States.

In a 30 November statement *(S/24872)*, the Council supported the wider use of fact-finding as a tool of preventive diplomacy, in some instances through dispatching missions to requesting States. All Member States in a position to do so should provide the Secretary-General with detailed information "on issues of concern, so as to facilitate effective preventive diplomacy", the Council stated. Ways to strengthen the Secretariat's capacity for information gathering and in-depth analysis should be considered, using experts and "eminent persons". The positive role that regional organizations could play was noted.

The Council endorsed the Secretary-General's view that, in some cases, a fact-finding mission could help defuse a dispute or situation, indicating to those concerned that the UN, and in particular the Council, was "actively seized of the matter as a present or potential threat to international peace and security".

Such action in the early stages of a potential dispute could be particularly effective, the Council asserted. It welcomed the Secretary-General's readiness to make full use of his powers under Article 99 of the UN Charter to draw the Council's attention to any matter which in his opinion might threaten international peace and security.

In a 30 December statement *(S/25036)*, the Council shared the Secretary-General's observation that when sanctions were imposed under Chapter VII of the Charter,

it was important that States confronted with special economic problems have the right to consult the Council regarding such problems, as provided in Article 50. The Council agreed that appropriate consideration should be given to their situation.

The Council intended to consider further the Agenda recommendation that it devise a set of measures, involving financial institutions and other components of the UN system, that could be put in place "to insulate States from such difficulties". In this context, the Secretary-General was invited to consult international financial institutions, other components of the UN system and UN Members States, and to report to the Council as early as possible.

General Assembly action

The General Assembly, after an extensive debate on "An Agenda for Peace", adopted without a vote an eight-part resolution *(47/120)* containing specific recommendations.

Member States were invited to seek **peaceful settlement of disputes** at an early stage. The Secretary-General and the Security Council were encouraged to consult at an early stage to develop strategies for settling disputes peacefully, with the participation of other UN bodies and through regional arrangements.

The Secretary-General was invited to strengthen UN capacity for **early warning, collection of information and analysis**, including setting up an adequate mechanism to deal with situations likely to endanger international peace and security. Member States and regional organizations were invited to provide timely early-warning information, on a confidential basis.

The Assembly supported the continued use of experts in **fact-finding** missions, and urged that Member States' requests for such missions be considered expeditiously.

Consultations on initiating **confidence-building measures** in various regions were encouraged, including promotion of openness and restraint in the production, procurement and deployment of armaments, systematic exchange of military missions, formation of regional risk reduction centres, and monitoring of regional arms control and disarmament agreements.

Coordination of **humanitarian assistance** programmes with peace-keeping or related operations was urged, so that the non-political and impartial character of such humanitarian action would be preserved.

In the area of **resources and logistical aspects of preventive diplomacy**, Member States were asked to provide political and practical support to the Secretary-General in his efforts in that area, as well as any necessary expertise and logistical resources.

As for **the role of the General Assembly in preventive diplomacy**, ways to promote the use of the world body by Member States were urged in order to bring greater influence to bear in pre-empting or containing international friction or disputes.

Finally, regarding **future work** in this area, the Assembly decided it would continue in 1993 its examination of the other Agenda recommendations on preventive diplomacy and related matters, including preventive deployment, demilitarized zones, the International Court of Justice and implementation of Article 50 of the UN Charter.

***Excerpts from statements by* UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali *made between* 1 October *and* 31 December 1992.**

Common ground . . .

Democracy's function is to find common ground for many, often competing, interests. And so . . . the world's agenda today requires a comprehensive integrated approach. One characteristic is common to all important global issues: They have many dimensions. They require collective action among nations. They involve mutual rights and obligations among the States and the international community.

To the opening session of the annual forum of the Parliamentarians for Global Action, New York, 20 November

New structures . . .

We live at a time of great change in international relations. As the nations of the world discuss new agendas for peace and development, it is clear that the work of individuals will be crucially important in building new structures of international relations. The nation State remains the cornerstone of international relations, but the non-governmental sector, citizens' groups and the private sector will have an increasing role to play.

In a message on the occasion of International Volunteer Day, New York, 5 December

A special case . . .

Development cooperation is a grand ideal, but it remains unfulfilled. Too often in the past grandiose concepts were followed by fragmented, uncoordinated action. Too many indicators of social and economic progress in Africa tell a disappointing story. Some are inclined to write Africa off as hopeless. Others see Africa as a special case to which the principles of economics do not apply. I reject such views. It is our approach that has failed. Africa has not.

In a statement to a Panel of High-Level Personalities on African Development, Geneva, 29 December

Intangible asset . . .

Looking back over 1992, the first year of my term of office, it is clear to me that the international community has had very high expectations of the United Nations, expecting it to work miracles. A more realistic attitude is now emerging, and I believe that we are moving from hope to fulfilment. I believe the women and men of the United Nations have risen magnificently to the challenge. The United Nations possesses, in the staff which serve it, an intangible asset of incalculable value.

In a holiday season message to UN Staff *New York, 9 December*

Embargo against Federal Republic of Yugoslavia tightened

War crimes investigative body created

With no end in sight to the virtual state of war in the former Yugoslavia and amidst widespread reports of "unspeakable brutality", the United Nations continued its efforts to prevent further atrocities, alleviate human suffering, expedite delivery of humanitarian assistance, tighten existing embargoes and curtail military activities.

"It is an unacceptable nightmare", said Sadako Ogata, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, on 13 November in reporting that in the former Yugoslav republics there were 3 million refugees, displaced persons and others trapped in besieged cities and regions. "The numbers are rising daily in a horrendous spiral."

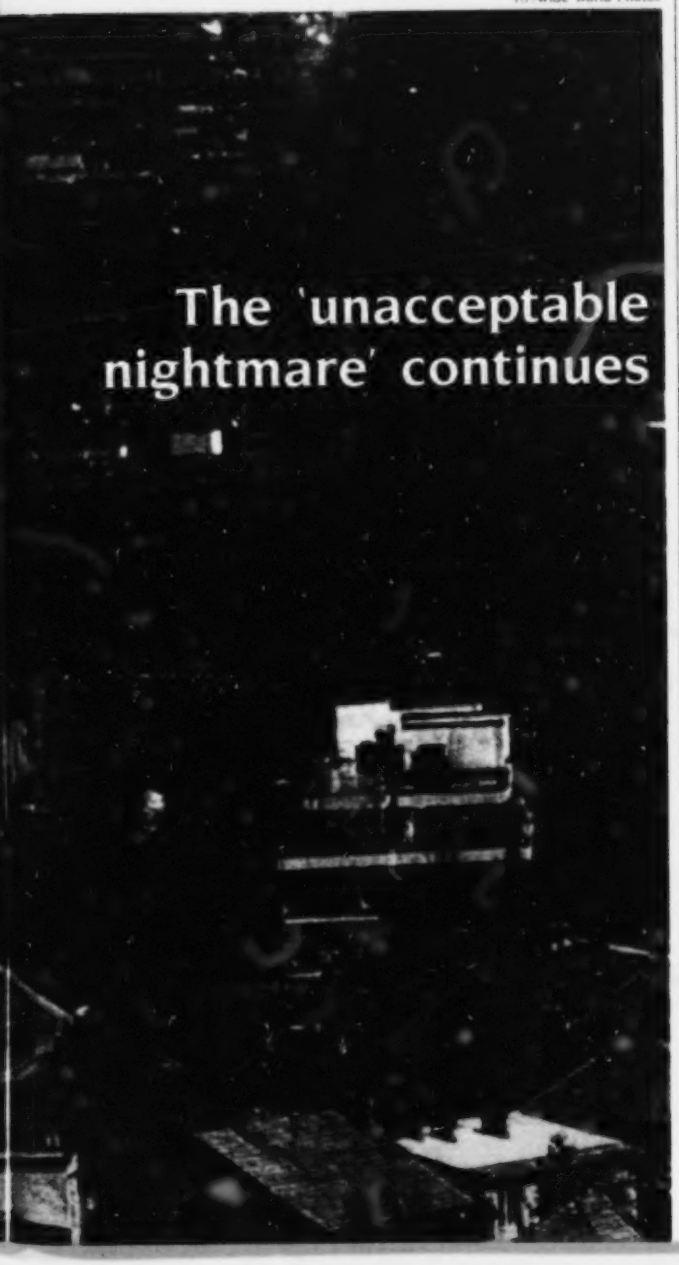
During the last three months of 1992, UN bodies addressed the deteriorating situation of the region: the Security Council met on 11 occasions, adopting seven resolutions and issuing three statements; the General Assem-

Sarajevo burning.

bly and its President voiced their concerns and the plenary adopted a comprehensive resolution; the Commission on Human Rights held a two-day extraordinary session; UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali oversaw a new round of peace discussions involving officials of the countries involved, as well as the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, and visited the area.

Among the actions: the wide-ranging embargo against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) was tightened; a ban on military flights over Bosnia and Herzegovina was imposed; a war crimes investigative body set to work; and what was described as massive violations of human rights, including killings, torture, disappearances, mass rapes and other acts or threats of violence, were strongly condemned.

AP/Wide World Photos



On 18 December, the Assembly called on the Council to consider urgent measures to exempt Bosnia and Herzegovina from the arms embargo imposed on the former Yugoslavia. In the event that Serbian and Montenegrin forces failed to comply fully with all relevant Council resolutions, the Council was urged to authorize Member States to use "all necessary means" to restore Bosnia and Herzegovina's sovereignty. The Assembly also called for consideration of an ad hoc international war crimes tribunal to try and punish those who had committed such crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On 31 December, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali arrived in Sarajevo, where he held meetings with high-ranking officials of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bosnian Serb leaders. He also toured a hospital and visited troops at the military barracks of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR). Mr. Boutros-Ghali had told reporters that his trip was to "express my solidarity with UN troops and other personnel".

Resolution 787: Sanctions widened

The Council on 16 November, in adopting resolution 787 (1992) by a vote of 13 to none, with 2 abstentions (China, Zimbabwe), widened existing sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to include "all inward and outward maritime shipping". Expressing deep concern over threats to Bosnia and Herzegovina's territorial integrity, it asked States to act "nationally or through regional agencies or arrangements" to ensure strict implementation of wide-ranging sanctions already in place following the adoption of Council resolution 757 (1992) on 30 May. (A general and complete arms embargo had been put in place on 25 September 1991 under Council resolution 713 (1991).)

Acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the Council decided that any vessel in which a majority or controlling interest was held by a person or undertaking in, or operating from, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would be considered a vessel of that country, regardless of the flag under which it sailed.

To ensure that commodities and products transshipped through the Federal Republic were not diverted in violation of resolution 757, the Council banned the transshipment of crude oil, petroleum products, coal, energy-related equipment, iron, steel, other metals, chemicals, rubber, tyres, vehicles, aircraft and motors of all types, unless such transshipment was specifically authorized on a case-by-case basis by the committee established on 15 December 1991, pursuant to resolution 724 (1991), to monitor the arms embargo. States were also asked to ensure that none of their exports were diverted in violation of those sanctions.

The Council condemned the refusal of all parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in particular the Bosnian Serb paramilitary forces, to comply with its previous resolutions and demanded that all concerned parties immediately fulfil those obligations.

All forms of interference from outside Bosnia and Herzegovina, including infiltration of irregular units and personnel, should cease immediately. Observers should be deployed on the borders to ensure implementation of Council resolutions.

Constitutional arrangements sought

The parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina were called on to continue negotiations for constitutional arrangements based on the draft outline constitution as a basis for negotiating a political settlement of the conflict in that country, under the auspices of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia held in London on 26 and 27 August.

The Council also asked for an immediate cessation of hostilities, an end to the blockades of Sarajevo and other towns, and the launching of a demilitarization process, with heavy weapons under international supervision.

UN Photo 182507/A. Morvan

The Secretary-General *(right)* visited Sarajevo to express solidarity with UN troops.

The Council condemned all violations of international humanitarian law, including in particular the practice of "ethnic cleansing"—elimination by the ethnic group controlling a given territory of members of other ethnic groups—and the deliberate impeding of the delivery of food and medical supplies to the civilian population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It reaffirmed that those who committed or ordered the commission of such acts would be held individually responsible in respect of such acts.

The Commission of Experts—a war crimes investigative body established under Council resolution 780 (1992)—was asked to pursue actively its investigations into grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions and other violations of international humanitarian law in the former Yugoslavia.

Study on 'safe areas' asked

Efforts by riparian States acting to ensure compliance with sanctions regarding shipments on the River Danube were commended. Further contributions to humanitarian relief efforts were sought, including support for the UN Consolidated Inter-Agency Programme of Action and Appeal for the former Yugoslavia. Cooperation to ensure speedy and safe delivery of aid was asked. A UN study of the requirements for the promotion of safe areas for humanitarian purposes was invited.

The Security Council's Committee monitoring sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) reported *(S/25027)* on 30 December its disappointment at the lack of information on sanctions violations, noting that the international press had been

UN Photo 159257/J. Isaac

UN civilian police talk with a Croatian man who lives in a predominantly Serbian village.

AP/Wide World Photos

UNPROFOR tanks escorting a UNHCR convoy.

"replete with reports" of "blatant" breaches of sanctions, including the arms embargo.

On 31 December, Committee Chairman José Ayala Lasso of Ecuador charged that UN "documentary communications" were being falsified to facilitate the illicit import into the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of banned goods, including large quantities of oil and petroleum products. The Committee wanted immediate action to identify the perpetrators and the extent of the reported fraud, which included using UN letterhead stationery and reusing documents originally signed by authorized UN officials for a legitimate purpose, with the intent of deceiving customs officials.

Resolution 47/121: Exemption asked

On 18 December, the Assembly, calling for an exemption for Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Council arms embargo and for consideration to use "all necessary means" to restore Bosnia and Herzegovina's sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and unity, urged the Council to consider those measures no later than 15 January 1993.

The Assembly acted by adopting resolution 47/121 by a vote of 102 to none, with 57 abstentions. It strongly condemned Serbia, Montenegro, and Serbian forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina for violating the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina and for non-compliance with existing Council resolutions. It also demanded that they immediately cease their "aggressive acts and hostility", and comply fully and unconditionally with relevant resolutions.

The Assembly further demanded the immediate withdrawal from Bosnia and Herzegovina of all elements of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and of the Croatian Army "not operating in accord with the authority" of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Government. Otherwise, they would be subject to the authority of that Government or be disbanded and disarmed with their weapons placed under effective UN control. The Assembly also supported consideration of immediate enforcement of the Council ban on all military flights over Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Council was urged to open more airports for international humanitarian relief flights, pursue emergency air drops and study the possibility of promoting safe areas for humanitarian purposes.

Resolution 781: Flights banned

The Council on 9 October, in adopting resolution 781 (1992) by a vote of 14 to none, with 1 abstention (China), banned all military flights in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina, except for flights of and other flights in support of UN operations, including humanitarian assistance.

UNPROFOR was asked to monitor compliance with the ban and to place observers, where necessary, at airfields in the former Yugoslavia. It was also asked to employ "an appropriate mechanism for approval and inspection" to ensure that flights exempted from the ban were legitimate. States were asked to provide technical monitoring assistance to UNPROFOR.

Resolution 786: More military observers

On 10 November, the Council approved an additional 75 military observers to enable UNPROFOR to implement the ban on military flights. Unanimously adopting resolution 786 (1992), it also called on all parties, including all Governments operating aircraft in the area, to cooperate fully with UNPROFOR in its implementation.

The Council also welcomed the advance deployment of military observers of UNPROFOR and the European Community Monitoring Mission (ECMM) at airfields in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Secretary-General on 5 November reported *(S/24767)* that the ban was being implemented to a limited extent as of 31 October 1992. There were some apparent violations of the ban. UNPROFOR was deploying military observers at 13 airfields in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. All flights were to obtain approval before taking off and those headed to Bosnia and Herzegovina must leave from Belgrade, Zagreb or Split, where they would be inspected.

Resolution 780: Investigate war crimes

Alarmed by reports of mass killings and "ethnic cleansing" in the former Yugoslavia, the Council on 6 October asked the Secretary-General to establish an impartial Commission of Experts to examine information and reports of what many described as "war crimes". Unanimously adopting resolution 780 (1992), the Council also asked States, relevant UN bodies and other organizations to provide within 30 days any substantiated information concerning violations of humanitarian law.

Two months before, on 13 August, in resolution 771 (1992), the Council had asked States and international humanitarian organizations for such information on the former Yugoslavia.

Prof. Frits Kalshoven of the Netherlands was named Chairman of the five-member Commission on 26 October. Other members are Prof. Cherif Bassiouni of Egypt, William J. Fenrick of Canada, Judge Keba Mbaye of Senegal and Prof. Torkel Opsahl of Norway.

The Commission was to work closely with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the Commission on Human Rights Special Rapporteur, appointed on 14 August to investigate the situation in the former Yugoslavia.

The Commission of Experts met in Geneva from 14 to

16 December. It reported that it had asked the Physicians for Human Rights to investigate a mass grave near Vukovar. It had begun to review reports from Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and other sources and would submit an interim report by the end of January 1993.

On 30 October, the Council, "appalled" by reports that the Serb militia in Bosnia and Herzegovina was attacking civilians fleeing from the city of Jajce, strongly condemned such attacks as grave violations of international humanitarian law, including the Geneva Conventions, and demanded that those attacks cease immediately. In a statement by Council President Jean-Bernard Mérimée of France, it reaffirmed that persons who commit or order the commission of grave breaches of those Conventions were individually responsible.

The Council said it remained concerned by the continuing conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina "with its resultant loss of life and material damage, which threaten international peace and security, and by reports of egregious violations of international humanitarian law by whomsoever committed".

Resolution 798: 'Unspeakable acts'

The Council, "appalled by reports of the massive, organized and systematic detention and rape of women, in particular Muslim women, in Bosnia and Herzegovina", on 18 December condemned those "acts of unspeakable brutality". In unanimously adopting resolution 798 (1992), it demanded that all detention camps, particularly for women, be closed immediately.

Support for a European Community delegation to investigate the alleged acts was expressed and the Secretary-General was asked to help the mission gain free and secure access to places of detention.

Paul Noterdaeme of Belgium, speaking on behalf of the European Community, told the Council: "We thought we had reached the limits of excess in this horrible civil war; but we were wrong. On top of the barbaric acts that inevitably go with any civil war, there are massive numbers of organized, systematic rapes of women, particularly Muslim women, in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We find that words could not express our indignation." The European Community would strive to "bring a definitive end to the monstrous conduct of the self-proclaimed Serb warriors".

Human Rights Commission: Extraordinary session

The UN Commission on Human Rights on 1 December condemned in the strongest terms all human rights violations in the former Yugoslavia at a two-day extraordinary session—its second in 1992 to consider the situation in the former Yugoslav territory—called at the request of Turkey and the United States.

The Commission categorically condemned the ethnic cleansing being carried out, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, recognizing that the "Serbian leadership in territories under their control in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Yugoslav army and the political leadership of the Republic of Serbia bear primary responsibility for this reprehensible practice".

AP/Wide World Photos

The Commission demanded an immediate end to ethnic cleansing and in particular demanded that "the Republic of Serbia" use its influence with "the self-proclaimed Serbian authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia" to bring that practice to an immediate end and reverse its effects.

The Commission affirmed that States were to be held accountable for human rights violations, which their agents committed upon the territory of another State. It condemned in particular violations in connection with detention, torture and rape, and called upon all parties in the former Yugoslavia to close immediately all detention centres not authorized by, and in compliance with, the 1949 Geneva Conventions and to release immediately in conditions of safety all persons arbitrarily or illegally detained.

'Systematic terrorization'

The Commission also condemned the "indiscriminate shelling of cities and civilian areas, the systematic terrorization and murder of non-combatants, the destruction of vital services, the besieging of cities, and the use of military force against civilian populations and relief operations by all sides, recognizing that the main responsibility lies with Serbian forces".

It called upon all parties in the former Yugoslavia, "especially those most responsible", to cease violations of human rights and international humanitarian law immediately and take steps to apprehend and punish those guilty of perpetrating or authorizing them.

The Commission, concerned at the number of disappearances and missing persons in the former Yugoslavia, called for all parties' efforts to account for those missing.

Grave concern was expressed at the dangerous situation in Kosovo, Sandzak and Vojvodina. All parties in those areas

UN Photo 159240/I. Isaac

Waiting for transport to a refugee camp in Croatia.

The war damage in Sarajevo is extensive.

UN Photo 181961/M. Grant

UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata in the Security Council.

were urged to engage in a meaningful dialogue under the auspices of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, to act with utmost restraint and to settle disputes in full compliance with human rights and freedoms.

Serbian authorities were called on to refrain from the use of force, immediately stop the practice of ethnic cleansing and respect fully the rights of persons belonging to ethnic communities or minorities, in order to prevent the extension of conflict to other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

The Commission asserted that the international community must not acquiesce in demographic changes caused by ethnic cleansing.

The Commission also affirmed that all parties in the former Yugoslavia shared the responsibility for finding peaceful solutions through negotiations and welcomed acceptance by the Bosnia and Herzegovina Government of constitutional proposals of the Co-Chairmen of the Conference's Steering Committee as a basis for negotiations.

Find safe havens

On 6 November, Commission Special Rapporteur Mazowiecki reported *(A/47/635-S/24766)* that the situation in the former Yugoslavia required emergency action by the international community. Safe havens abroad must be found for those whose lives were in acute danger. The argument that providing refuge for such people was to conform to the policy of ethnic cleansing could not override the imperative of saving their lives. Thus far, European countries had agreed to provide refuge to only a small percentage of those whose lives were at stake.

Pursue security zones

He also stressed that a large number of displaced persons would not have to seek refuge abroad if guarantees existed for personal security and access to food and medical care. In that context, the concept of security zones within the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina should be actively pursued. Opening humanitarian relief corridors to all besieged areas should be given priority attention.

In a 17 November report *(A/47/666-S/24809)*, the Special Rapporteur said ethnic cleansing was the direct cause of the vast majority of human rights violations which had occurred in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The methods used to accomplish that end included, among other things, forced relocation of populations, summary executions and the commission of atrocities, such as torture, rape and mutilation of corpses, all calculated to instil terror. The greater prevalence of ethnic cleansing in Serbian-occupied territories was "undoubtedly related to the political objectives" pursued by Serbian nationalists.

Resolution 779: Withdrawal plan

On 6 October, the Council authorized UNPROFOR to assume responsibility for monitoring the complete withdrawal of JNA from Croatia, demilitarization of the Prevlaka peninsula and removal of heavy weapons from neighbouring areas of Croatia and Montenegro. Unanimously adopting resolution 779 (1992), the Council approved the withdrawal plan as outlined in the Secretary-General's 28 September report *(S/24600)*.

In a joint declaration signed in Geneva on 30 September, President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia and President Dobrica Cosic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had fixed 20 October as the date for JNA's withdrawal from the Prevlaka peninsula, a significant step towards improving security in the regions of Dubrovnik and Kotor Bay. They also agreed to establish a joint committee to help normalize relations between the two States.

The Secretary-General on 21 October informed *(S/24710)* the Council that JNA had withdrawn from Croatia, with the last units leaving Prevlaka on 20 October. UN military observers, in cooperation with the ECCM, were patrolling the area. A crucial element in the UN peace-keeping plan had been fulfilled, he said.

In resolution 779, the Council also endorsed the principles agreed to by the two Presidents that all statements or commitments made under duress, particularly those relating to land and property, were wholly null and void and that all displaced persons had the right to return in peace to their former homes. The voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons was a central element in the UN plan in Croatia, the Secretary-General had stated, but had been hindered by the deteriorating security situation and the creation of paramilitary forces in the UN Protected Areas (UNPAs).

The Council also expressed strong support for the efforts of the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia to ensure the restoration of power and water supplies before the coming winter.

The Secretary-General said that so far it had not been possible for UNPROFOR in Croatia to achieve the plan's goals for the three UNPAs or to restore a degree of normality and inter-ethnic tolerance there before the winter set in.

The "sad fact", he stated, was that the parties, and especially the Serb militia forces, known as "Knin authorities" (of the so-called Republic of Serbia Krajina), had not given the UN Force the full and sustained cooperation necessary for it to carry out its various mandates. The Knin forces totalled 16,000 armed men, variously designated as "special police" or "border police". According to the UNPROFOR Commander, their almost total ignorance of police work showed that, in reality, they were Serbian paramilitary forces.

Facing the dilemma

In a 24 November report *(S/24848)* on progress made by UNPROFOR in general, the Secretary-General stated that, unless a way was found to obtain the cooperation of the Knin authorities in Croatia, the UNPROFOR operation in that country would confront the Council with the same dilemma as had other UN operations, which had been met with non-cooperation by the parties.

The situation in the four UNPAs and in the so-called "pink zones" had not improved since September, even though UN peace-keepers had succeeded in controlling the level of hostilities in those areas. In such situations, the Council had to make the difficult choice between withdrawing the operation, thus facing a resumption of fighting, or keeping

The Security Council met 11 times on the Yugoslav crisis during the last three months of 1992.

Ilija Djukic, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, addressed the Council on 16 November.

it in place in the knowledge that it might involve the Council in a "large and expensive commitment for an indefinite period of time".

The root cause of UNPROFOR's inability to make further progress in Croatia, the Secretary-General said, was the refusal of the Knin authorities to accept the demilitarization of the UNPAs and the return of refugees and displaced persons. They had "exploited the presence of UNPROFOR and the resulting cessation of hostilities to assert their pretensions to sovereignty and statehood", instead of cooperating with UNPROFOR to create conditions for negotiations of their legitimate concerns. The situation with regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina was "also disquieting", but UNPROFOR's mandate in that country was "more practicable than in Croatia".

In a 2 December statement by Council President Chinmaya R. Gharekhan of India following consultations, Council members expressed their outrage and condemned the increasing attacks against UN personnel serving in various peace-keeping operations. UNPROFOR had already suffered over 300 casualties, 20 of them fatal.

In a statement on 15 October by Council President Mérimée, members expressed grave concern over the continued hostile actions against UNPROFOR personnel.

On 9 December, the Council expressed alarm at reports that the Serb militia in Bosnia and Herzegovina had renewed its offensive in that country, in particular against Sarajevo.

In a statement by Council President Gharekhan following a meeting, the Council warned that actions aimed at impeding the distribution of humanitarian assistance and at forcing Sarajevo inhabitants to leave the city, including the possibility of ethnic cleansing, would have grave consequences for the overall situation in that country. It condemned the attacks as violations of relevant resolutions and of commitments regarding cessation of hostilities, ban on military flights, safety of humanitarian assistance to the civilian population and restoration of power and water supplies.

If such attacks continued, the Council would consider, at the earliest, further measures against those who committed or supported them, to ensure the security of UNPROFOR and of international relief workers, UNPROFOR's ability to fulfil its mandate and compliance with relevant Council resolutions.

Alija Izetbegović *(left)*, President of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the General Assembly Hall.

Bosnia and Herzegovina on 7 December asked *(S/24916)* for an emergency Council meeting, stating there had been a "dramatic increase in aggression against Sarajevo and Bihac and cities in central Bosnia", including intensified shelling and closing of the airport.

Resolution 795: Macedonia operation

On 11 December, the Council authorized the immediate establishment of an UNPROFOR presence in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to monitor its borders with Albania and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and report any developments in the border areas, which could undermine confidence and stability in Macedonia and threaten its territory.

Acting on the Secretary-General's recommendations contained in his 9 December report *(S/24923)*, the Council expanded UNPROFOR by an infantry battalion—an estimated 700 persons—along with 35 UN military observers who would operate under a "Macedonia Command", with headquarters in Skopje, the capital of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. It also authorized the deployment of 26 civilian police to monitor the Macedonian border police.

Unanimously adopting resolution 795 (1992), the Council urged UNPROFOR's presence in Macedonia to coordinate closely with the mission of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which was also in the area.

An UNPROFOR exploratory mission visited Macedonia from 28 November to 3 December. It was reported that the authorities of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia were concerned that, if fighting spilled into the province of Kosovo where conflict was possible between ethnic Albanians and Serbian authorities, it could also affect Macedonia.

The Council, in a 25 November letter *(S/24852)* to the Secretary-General, agreed to the dispatch of a group of military, police and civilian personnel.

Ministers meet

A ministerial-level meeting of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia was held in Geneva on 16 December. On 24 December, the Secretary-General reported *(S/25015)* that there had been an "in-depth discussion" of the situation in the former Yugoslavia, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina. "The current situation demands statesmanship of the highest order", Mr. Boutros-Ghali told the Committee. "Understandable emotion must be balanced by a sober appreciation of risks and benefits." He favoured "continuous negotiations in good faith".

Martti Ahtisaari, Chairman of the Working Group on Bosnia and Herzegovina, reported on discussions regarding a new institutional structure for Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly on constitutional principles and delimitation of provincial boundaries.

Emergency airlift resumed

The emergency airlift to provide humanitarian assistance to Saravejo and other cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina through Sarajevo airport, suspended in the first week of September, was resumed on 10 October. It was again suspended on 21 October due to increased fighting and was resumed the next day.

High Commissioner for Refugees Ogata on 20 October said that in the winter of 1992-1993, some 1.6 million people in Bosnia and Herzegovina would need 9,226 metric tons of emergency supplies each week. Transportation of relief supplies by road had come to a virtual halt due to fighting and attacks on aid convoys. She expressed anger and frustration over "the deliberate shelling and harassment" of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) trucks.

UNHCR 22027/A. Hollmann

More than 3 million people in the former Yugoslavia were in need of emergency food aid.

In an effort to build up relief supplies in Sarajevo, UNHCR stepped up land and air deliveries to the city in the week beginning 26 October. UNHCR's mandate in the former Yugoslavia included not only the supply of food, but also protection of those people who wanted to stay.

The World Food Programme announced in Rome on 5 November that it would supply 201,000 metric tons of emergency food aid to feed more than 3 million people in the former Yugoslavia—2,405,000 refugees or internally displaced persons and 650,000 war-affected people. The cost of the operation, which had begun on 1 November and would last until 31 March 1993, would be $145 million.

International Committee of the Red Cross President Cornelio Somaruga said the creation of large protection zones, secured by the international community, would greatly improve the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Pointing out that "release without refuge was a cruel half-measure", UNHCR on 26 October appealed to the international community to open its doors to the thousands of detainees awaiting evacuation from camps in the former Yugoslavia.

In a letter to Governments, Deputy High Commissioner Douglas Stafford noted that temporary safe haven must be found in third countries for the ex-prisoners, many of whom had been subjected to horrendous abuses and torture. Croatia, already burdened with a huge refugee population, had agreed to provide temporary transit facilities for the ex-detainees on condition that they eventually be moved on to third countries. Montenegro had also taken in some of the ex-detainees.

Ongoing talks

On 26 and 27 December, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali met in Geneva with the International Conference Co-Chairmen, Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, as well as with the Presidents of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

A UN official said on 29 December that the on-going talks aimed at finding a negotiated political solution for all of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The free movement of citizens from besieged towns and cities and of humanitarian aid was also under discussion. A framework for a settlement had been established by Mr. Vance and Lord Owen.

The Secretary-General told the press in Geneva on 30 December that his contacts with the three leaders from the former Yugoslavia had been quite constructive, in spite of different points of view. His discussions with Mr. Vance and Lord Owen had been very positive. "They believe that we have a chance of finding a solution to the problem", the Secretary-General stated. They had a map "which will be the expression of the constitutional compromise in Bosnia, and we must do our best to maintain this new momentum which has been created in favour of a peaceful solution".

Mr. Vance and Lord Owen had told the press in Geneva on 23 October that the international community would not tolerate the taking of territory by force, nor acquiesce in ethnic cleansing. Responding to reports that Bosnia and Herzegovina had in fact been carved up by Serbian and Croatian forces, they said the status quo on the ground was not acceptable and that international recognition and the lifting of sanctions would not take place until a political solution had been found.

Spain and the United States were added to the list of Member States contributing military personnel to UNPROFOR which included: Argentina, Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Ghana, Ireland, Jordan, Kenya, Luxembourg, Nepal, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Russian Federation, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Ukraine and Venezuela.

AP/Wide World Photos

Somali children with United States marines in the streets of Mogadishu.

UN-mandated force seeks to halt tragedy

peration Restore Hope

Gravely alarmed by the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in famine-stricken Somalia and dismayed by the continued looting of relief supplies and attacks on UN peace-keepers there, the Security Council on 3 December called for the use of "all necessary means" to secure the delivery of humanitarian aid to the starving people of that Horn of Africa nation.

Contained in resolution 794 (1992), the Council action marked the first-ever UN sanction for the use of force to ensure the delivery of humanitarian relief. It stemmed from the assessment by the Secretary-General that the existing course of the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) would not "be an adequate response to the tragedy", whose "unique character" was of a "deteriorating, complex and extraordinary nature, requiring an immediate and exceptional response".

During debate on the historic resolution, Council members said that an "approach different from the usual form of peace-keeping operation" was warranted by the "exceptional" circumstances of anarchy and human suffering in Somalia. The resolution, Hungary stated, could be "of fundamental importance in the life of the United Nations in that it opens up the possibility of joint, determined and innovative action by which it will be possible to put an end to the hardship of an entire people".

The unprecedented text cleared the way for the 9 December deployment of thousands of armed troops from the United States and other countries to escort relief convoys in Somalia so that the massive 100-day humanitarian relief operation begun in October could continue.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in a message to the people of Somalia on 8 December, said the military troops arriving in their country—known as the Unified Task Force, or UNITAF—came "to feed the starving, protect the defenceless and prepare the way for political, economic and social reconstruction".

By the text of resolution 794, adopted unanimously, the Council—acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, which spells out action, including the use of force, to be taken by the Council with respect to threats to peace and acts of aggression—authorized the Secretary-General to implement the 29 November offer by the United States to establish a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia as soon as possible.

The Council determined that "the magnitude of the human tragedy caused by the conflict in Somalia, further

AP/Wide World Photos

The first "Operation Restore Hope" flight arrived in Somalia on 9 December.

exacerbated by the obstacles being created to the distribution of humanitarian assistance, constitutes a threat to international peace and security".

It cited reports of "widespread violations of international humanitarian law" in Somalia, including reports of violence against personnel participating in impartial humanitarian relief activities and deliberate attacks on relief consignments and vehicles. Those committing such violations, in particular deliberately impeding delivery of food and medical supplies essential to the survival of the civilian population, would be held individually responsible.

The Secretary-General and Member States contributing to the international forces were authorized to make arrangements for the unified command and control of the forces. The further deployment of 3,500 personnel of UNOSOM, authorized by the Council in August, was to proceed at the discretion of the Secretary-General, who was invited to attach a small UNOSOM liaison staff to the field headquarters of the unified command of the international forces.

Asserting that a final negotiated settlement of the Somali conflict was "an ultimate reponsibility of the Somalis themselves", the Council also invited the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to continue efforts to achieve a political settlement in Somalia. (The Secretary-General's representatives subsequently met from 4 to 15 January with the leaders of various Somali groups in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to prepare a conference of national reconciliation.)

'Restore Hope'

The first phase of the unified military response sanctioned by resolution 794 was directed by United States President George Bush on 4 December 1992. The mission—known as "Operation Restore Hope"—began on 9 December with the "successful seizure of the airfield and port in Mogadishu by a United States Marine special-purpose air-ground task force supported by United States Navy elements", according to a 17 December letter *(S/24976)* from the Permanent Representative of the United States to the Security Council.

Additional forces, including initial UNITAF elements composed of troops from 20 countries, had then continued to expand the security zones in the Somali capital.

The second phase of the Operation involved securing the relief centres of Baidoa, as well as Oddur, Belet Weyne and Gialassi. The third phase involved expanding the operations to the south to secure the port and airfield at Kismayo, Bardera, and the land route from Bardera to Baidoa. The fourth and last phase was the transfer of responsibility for maintaining a secure environment to UN peace-keeping forces.

In a 22 October report *(A/47/553)*, effects of four years of civil war in Somalia was discussed: first between supporters and opponents of President Siad Barre; then between feuding clans and factions after Mr. Barre was ousted in January 1991.

A country in ruins

Somalia was a country "in ruins", the Secretary-General stated, and there was "no functioning government in most parts". Some 300,000 people had died since November 1991 and another 1.5 million lives were immediately at risk because of famine. Almost 4.5 million of the 6 million Somalis were threatened by severe malnutrition and related diseases, and 700,000 had sought refuge in neighbouring countries.

Major cities in northern Somalia had been reduced to rubble, at least 60 per cent of the country's basic infrastructure had been destroyed, and 80 per cent of all social services had been rendered non-operational. The absence of government and the violence between and within clans had "plunged towns and cities into a nightmare of insecurity", which in turn hampered the delivery of humanitarian assistance and threatened relief workers.

Against this grim background, the UN in October embarked upon a 100-day action programme to accelerate relief efforts in Somalia and bring in some 50,000 tons of food per month. The main providers of food aid were the World Food Programme and the International Committee of the Red Cross. The programme also dealt with vaccination of children, provisions of drugs and medical supplies, and assistance to refugees.

Although the UN had been active throughout 1992 in trying to end the fighting in Somalia, the security situation continued to deteriorate and hamper relief efforts, stated the Secretary-General in a 24 November letter to the Council *(S/24859)*.

In March 1992, the two major factions in Mogadishu agreed to a UN-brokered cease-fire, and in April, UNOSOM was established to monitor it. Additional deployments for UNOSOM, which was to grow to a strength of over 4,000 personnel, were subsequently authorized.

On 16 November, following his first week in Somalia, the Secretary-General's Special Representative Ismat Kittani reported that his principal concern was that, "in the absence of a government or governing authority capable of maintaining law and order, Somali 'authorities' at all levels of society compete for anything of value in the country. Armed threats and killings often decide the outcome."

Looting and banditry were "rife" and relief organizations were subject to theft, extortion, hijacking of vehicles and detention of expatriate personnel. Amidst this chaos, international aid provided by the UN and voluntary agencies had become a major source of income. In essence, humanitarian supplies had become the basis of an otherwise non-existent Somali economy.

Mr. Kittani had been appointed Special Representative for Somalia on 30 October, succeeding Mohammed Sahnoun who had resigned.

The Secretary-General concluded that while a massive amount of aid supplies had been readied for the 100-day action programme, humanitarian assistance that actually reached the needy was "often barely more than a trickle". If security issues were not effectively addressed, the UN and non-governmental organizations would "not be able to provide the relief assistance urgently in the amounts needed now in Somalia".

The same conclusion was reached at the Second Coordination Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance to Somalia, which met in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 3 to 5 December. It was stated there that the 100-day programme had "presented only partial success" due to intensified insecurity and that armed gunmen and other elements with heavy weaponry had to be disarmed and demobilized to ensure the return of law and order in Somalia.

Five options

Following informal consultations among Council Members at which the view was expressed that the situation in Somalia was intolerable, the Secretary-General, in a 29 November letter *(S/24868)*, outlined five options the Council had in creating conditions for uninterrupted delivery of relief supplies to Somalia.

The first option was a continued deployment of UNOSOM under the existing principles of UN peace-keeping operations, which the Secretary-General said "would not in present circumstances be an adequate response to the humanitarian crisis in Somalia".

Another possibility would be to abandon the idea of using international military personnel to protect humanitarian activities, withdraw UNOSOM's military elements and leave humanitarian agencies to negotiate arrangements with leaders of clans and factions. While this option had been advocated by some agencies, the Secretary-General said he was "more than ever convinced of the need for international military personnel to be deployed in Somalia".

The other three options involved the possible use of force, either by UNOSOM undertaking a show of force in Mogadishu, which could possibly convince lawless elements to stop abusing the international relief effort, or by a country-wide enforcement operation. Such an operation could either be under UN command and control or be undertaken by a group of Member States authorized by the Security Council.

The Secretary-General noted that while a country-wide operation under UN command would be consistent with the recent expansion of the UN's role in the maintenance of international peace and security and its long-term evolution as an effective system of collective security, the Secretariat, already overstretched in managing greatly enlarged peace-keeping commitments, did not have the capability to command and control an enforcement operation of the size and urgency required in Somalia. Thus, it would be necessary for Member States to provide not

AP/Wide World Photos

United States marines protected convoys bringing aid to outlying villages.

AP/Wide World Photos

Food being delivered to a Mogadishu warehouse under armed guard.

only troops but also personnel both in the field and New York.

In his recommendation, the Secretary-General said that there was no alternative but to resort to Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Any forceful action should preferably be under UN command and control, but if that was not feasible, a Council-authorized operation undertaken by Member States was to be considered. In either case, the objective of the operation should be precisely defined and limited in time, in order to prepare the way for a return to peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building.

The Secretary-General told the Council that United States Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger had informed him that if the Council would authorize the use of forceful means to ensure aid delivery, the United States would be ready to take the lead in organizing such an operation.

In a 24 December letter to the Council President *(S/25014)*, the Charge d'Affairs of the Permanent Mission of Somalia to the UN expressed her gratitude to the Council for adopting resolution 794 and said she could "only commend the operations undertaken by the Unified Military Command led by the United States".

During the four phases of Operation Restore Hope, United States forces were to build to approximately 28,000 personnel, augmented with UNITAF forces from 20 countries that had committed to provide over 17,000 personnel. As a result of the Operation, food distribution was improving in the beginning of 1993, according to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN.

Improved food distribution is stemming malnutrition.

It was of great importance that the last phase of the Operation—the transition from UNITAF to a peace-keeping operation under UN control—be achieved as soon as possible, in line with the wishes of the Council, the Secretary-General stated in a 19 December report *(S/24992)* in which he described action taken under resolution 794.

The military component of UNOSOM at the time was composed of 564 troops, consisting mainly of a 500-strong battalion, 50 military observers, movement and logistics elements and a small headquarters staff. Also, the Secretary-General on 18 December had authorized the deployment of about 100 additional personnel to strengthen UNOSOM headquarters.

The main activities of the UN force included: working with UNITAF to maintain security at Mogadishu airport; providing movement control for UN flights; and escorting all UNOSOM personnel and food convoys within the city of Mogadishu.

The Secretary-General also discussed his vision of future activities and the preconditions for transition, which he had outlined in a letter to the United States President. At least the heavy weapons of the organized factions would have to be neutralized and brought under international control and irregular forces and gangs had to be disarmed. It was necessary to consolidate agreements with leaders of all the organized factions for effective cease-fires. The Unified Task Force and UNOSOM should try to induce individuals to hand in small arms and weapons and begin the task of clearing mines.

Moreover, the mandate the Council might entrust to a new UNOSOM would have to be enlarged from one of monitoring the cease-fire in Mogadishu and providing security for humanitarian activities to a new mandate which should continue to cover the whole territory of Somalia and include preventing any resumption of violence, taking action against factions which violated the peace and maintaining control over the heavy weapons brought under control by UNITAF.

The Secretary-General said it would be "a tragedy if the premature departure, or remodelling, of the Unified Task Force were to plunge Somalia back into anarchy and starvation and destroy the fragile political progress of recent weeks".

As of 18 December, four States had contributed to a fund for the benefit of the international operation in Somalia. Japan contributed $100 million and pledges were also made by Saudi Arabia, Finland and the Philippines.

Steps towards reconciliation

The results of a technical meeting between the UN and various Somali groups on reconciliation, which took place at a coordination conference in Addis Ababa in early December, were encouraging, the Secretary-General stated. A list was compiled of 12 Somali political movements to be invited to a formal meeting in Addis Ababa on 4 January, which was to prepare a conference of national reconciliation.

By resolution 47/167, adopted on 18 December, the General Assembly welcomed the idea of convening an international peace conference on Somalia under the auspices of the UN and African regional organizations. The Assembly stated that lasting peace could be achieved through a process of national reconciliation, "culminating in a final, comprehensive, politically negotiated settlement among all the political entities and segments of the Somali people".

It outlined the considerations that would govern the restoration of peace and stability in Somalia: "strict observance of a cease-fire, full cooperation with United Nations peace-keeping forces, national reconciliation, assistance to refugees, displaced persons and returnees, a constitution that guarantees democracy, freedom and justice, and free and fair elections".

Full compliance with resolutions asked

Security Council rejects *'in toto'* Iraq's allegations

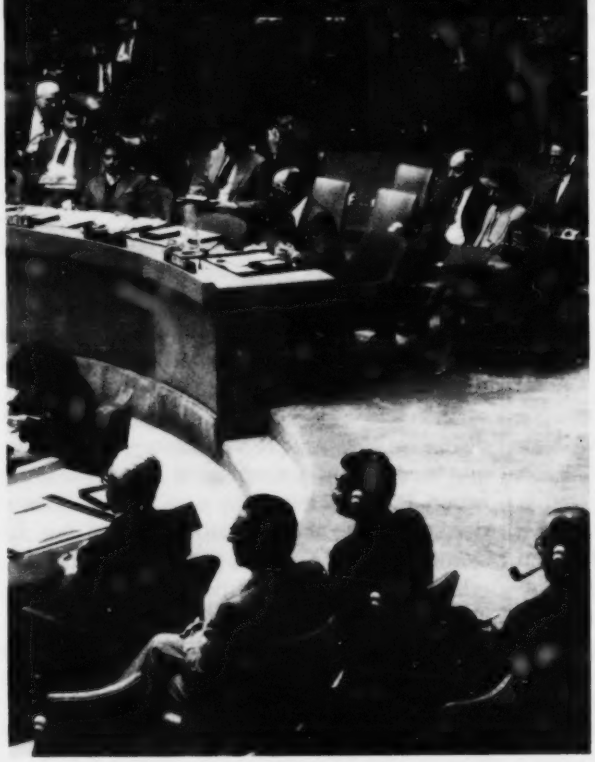
The Security Council, while acknowledging there had been some positive steps, declared on 24 November that Iraq had not complied fully and unconditionally with its obligations under Council resolutions relating to the Persian Gulf war and called on that country to take action immediately towards that end.

The Council issued a statement through its President, André Erdös of Hungary, at the conclusion of a series of meetings, held on 23 and 24 November, to review Iraq's compliance with resolution 687 (1991) and subsequent relevant texts.

Resolution 687, adopted on 3 April 1991, set detailed conditions for a formal cease-fire ending the hostilities resulting from Iraq's August 1991 invasion of Kuwait and provided conditions essential to the restoration of peace and security in the region. Prime among those conditions was total Iraqi compliance with UN decisions.

The Council regretted the lack of any indication in the statements by Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz on 23 and 24 November on how his Government intended to comply with Council resolutions. It also regretted and rejected "*in toto*" the "baseless threats, allegations and attacks" launched by Mr. Aziz against the Council, the Special Commission on Iraqi disarmament, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission, and the Sanctions Committee established under resolution 661 (1990).

In a 23 November statement, the Council declared that Iraq had only selectively and partially complied with obligations placed upon it by the Council.



Delegations of Iraq *(bottom)* and Kuwait *(top)* in the Security Council on 24 November.

Among Iraq's shortcomings were: failure to participate in the work of the Boundary Demarcation Commission; refusal to withdraw police posts not in line with the UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) principle that both sides should stay 1,000 metres from the boundary line; not meeting its liability for full costs of the disarmament process; and not completely disclosing all aspects of its programmes for weapons of mass destruction, including documentary evidence on Iraq's past production, suppliers and capacity to produce such weapons.

On the humanitarian aspects of the situation, the Council noted that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) had received neither information on missing persons in Iraq nor permission to visit Iraqi prisons and detention centres. Very few of those people had been released since March and hundreds were believed to be still detained.

In addition, the Council remained deeply concerned at the "grave human rights abuses" which, despite provisions of resolution 688 (1991), Iraq continued to perpetrate against its population, in particular in its northern region, in southern Shi'a centres and the southern marshes.

Iraq also had not shown any willingness to resume discussions on implementing resolutions relating to the sale of its oil to provide for the basic needs of its citizens, the Council said.

Debate

In debate, Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Aziz said that no matter what Iraq did to fulfil its obligations, "the unjust sentence passed by the Council to starve the people of Iraq and deny them the right to life will remain in place, simply because this is the will of certain influential Governments in the Council". That same will continued to be behind the unjust manner in which Iraq had been treated, he said.

Iraq, in spite of the grave injustice inflicted upon it, had complied with resolution 687 despite that text's "arbitrarily iniquitous nature", he went on. The Council continued to adopt a "despotic posture" against Iraq and

Tariq Aziz, Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq.

Hans Blix, Director General of IAEA.

had pursued a method of continued harassment and pressure. It had placed "obstacles before the possibility for Iraq to use its frozen assets abroad" in order to meet Iraqis' humanitarian needs. The Sanctions Committee had persisted in its "shameful conduct, namely the prevention of Iraq from obtaining its needs".

Mr. Aziz asserted that the United States had imposed upon the Council the "grotesque and iniquitous" resolution 778 (1992), under which parts of Iraq's frozen assets abroad were being "robbed and used at will in an arbitrary fashion". The determination to keep the embargo against Iraq in place amounted to the "perpetration of the crime of genocide against the people of Iraq". The embargo's imposition had caused the deaths of thousands of children. It had led to the "bitterly cruel suffering" of the Iraqis. The Council should drastically review its arbitrary resolutions, he said.

Mr. Aziz added: "To focus on stripping Iraq of its national security capabilities and the means of protecting its people, and to impose iniquitous conditions, which violate its sovereignty and security under the guise of future monitoring, is to leave the situation in the region without any serious monitoring."

Sir David Hannay of the United Kingdom said Iraq's reassertion of its claim to Kuwait called into question its commitment to resoluton 687. Iraq had still not complied with its obligations under resolution 707 (1991) to provide a full, final and complete declaration of its weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missile programmes. It had failed either to recognize or to accept its obligations under resolution 715 (1991), which provides for long-term monitoring and verification by inspection.

Edward J. Perkins of the United States said Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles must be permanently eliminated if the Gulf region was to enjoy peace and security. That goal required Iraq's cooperation in two areas—full and complete disclosure of its weapons programmes and long-term monitoring and verification. Iraq had left many gaps in its declarations to the Special Commission and to IAEA.

It had diverted food imports to the military and security forces "to allow Saddam Hussein to maintain his brutal dictatorship", he charged. The Council had sought every peaceful means to redress the suffering imposed by Baghdad on Iraqis. Without full and unconditional Iraqi compliance with all relevant resolutions, there was no reason to lift sanctions.

Herve Ladsous of France said sanctions could be lifted once Iraq had complied with Council resolutions. France was aware of the suffering of Iraq's civilian population and had consistently sought ways to make it possible to feed that population. The human rights situation in Iraq was extremely critical. Iraq must live in peace with its neighbours and its people. If it acceded to those two demands, it could bring about the lifting of sanctions.

Yuliy M. Vorontsov of the Russian Federation said there was no certainty as to the completeness and accuracy of the information presented by Iraq. Iraq had an essentially hostile attitude towards UN inspectors. It had confiscated the property of a number of foreign companies and organizations, in violation of resolution 687.

Kuwaiti Information Minister Sheikh Saud Nasser Al-Sabah said Iraqi actions were part of a "systematic and deliberate exercise" aimed at keeping the region in a state of tension and instability. The Council should consider some procedure, under resolution 687, so that the Council might take "such further steps as may be required" to implement the resolution and to secure peace and security in the region.

Iraq on 22 December said *(S/25012)* it had repatriated all Kuwaitis and third country nationals present in its territory through ICRC and was ready to cooperate in identifying the missing persons.

Inspections

The fourteenth in a series of inspections of Iraq's ballistic missile capabilities took place from 16 to 30 October. Thirteen earlier inspections had been carried out between 30 June 1991 and 18 August 1992. The team, led by Nikita Smidovich of the Russian Federation, consisted of some 50 inspectors from 10 countries.

A UN official said on 4 November

Rolf Ekeus, Executive Chairman of the Special Commission.

that the UN Special Commission on Iraqi disarmament considered this recent inspection a "touchstone" in its relations with Iraq. The team had received "mixed signals" from that country.

On the positive side, the inspection team had obtained "new and detailed information on certain operational aspects of the use of weapons of mass destruction during the period prior to the Special Commission's operations". Previously, Iraq had refused to supply such information, arguing that it was not relevant to the Commission.

On the negative side, there had been "fairly unpleasant things" said about the inspection teams and their intentions by President Hussein and high-ranking Iraqi officials. There were also problems with the treatment of the inspectors and refusal to provide data on equipment and material suppliers during the Persian Gulf war.

The Special Commission was set up under resolution 687 to verify Iraq's compliance with the Council's demand for "full, final and complete" disclosure of all its weapons programmes, including weapons of mass destruction. Commission Executive Chairman Rolf Ekeus told the press in New York on 27 October that the team, which the Commission considered to be the first real test of a promised change in Iraq's attitude, had reported some "interesting developments". Iraq appeared to be quite forthcoming in some important respects. The team had not found any hidden SCUD missiles, but to be sure, it needed to know, for example, whether fuel for SCUD missiles existed in Iraq.

The Commission was looking into the possibility of offering Iraq an incentive to comply with its obligations under resolution 687. Mr. Ekeus suggested that if Iraq were to be completely forthcoming about its weapons of mass destruction, the Council might be convinced to lift its restrictions on the sale of Iraqi oil.

A threat to inspectors?

On 15 October, the Security Council said that Mr. Ekeus had drawn its attention to "press reports of a high-level statement made in Iraq, which would constitute a threat to the security" of the inspectors. Council President Jean-Bernard Mérimée of France said the body was concerned for the inspectors' safety and wanted Iraq's full cooperation with the team.

The fifteenth and sixteenth inspections of Iraq's nuclear capabilities took place from 8 to 18 November and from 5 to 8 December, respectively. Fourteen previous inspections had been carried out between 14 May 1991 and 7 September 1992.

The IAEA reported *(S/24981* and *S/25013)* that the sampling of Iraq's waterways, begun during the fourteenth inspection, was concluded during the fifteenth mission. The objectives of the sampling were to detect undeclared nuclear facilities and to establish a baseline for future monitoring. More than 550 water and sediment samples had been collected.

An assessment of the conditions for removal of irradiated fuel, stored in pools and storage tanks at two locations, was carried out by experts, who estimated that the fuel removal operation, once begun, would take four to six months. The 100 tonnes of maraging steel declared by Iraq to have been procured for their centrifuge programme was destroyed, as was the R24 experimental electromagnetic isotope separator (EMIS) magnet system. Work to identify and catalogue key machine tools in various Iraqi State Engineering Establishments continued.

The uranium waste material recovered at Al Jezira and moved to Al Tuwaitha was weighed, sampled for verification and transferred to storage under IAEA seal. The re-verification of irradiated fuel at the IRT-5000 reactor and remedial actions to improve storage conditions for the irradiated fuel were completed. A number of additional nuclear material samples from previously verified material were taken to further evaluate Iraqi declarations regarding the processing of nuclear materials in the building 73 complex (Al Tuwaitha).

During the sixteenth inspection, no activity or documentation relevant to resolution 687 was uncovered. However, the team on arrival observed the removal of documents.

Future monitoring needed

Future inspections of Iraq's nuclear facilities and long-term monitoring of its activities were needed, IAEA Director General Hans Blix told the General Assembly on 21 October. Monitoring was still very important because Iraq's scientific and technical knowledge remained largely intact and its clandestine procurement network was still in place.

The Special Commission on 19 October reported *(S/24661)* that Iraq had not met conditions for the Commission's launching of its plan for ongoing monitoring of that country's weapons sites. There was "no movement" in Iraq's underlying position regarding compliance with Council resolutions. Iraq continuously sought to ensure that the implementation of the plan was proceeding "on the basis of its interpretation of its obligations, rather than on the basis of Security Council resolutions".

For the time being, the Commission remained constrained from going beyond preparatory work into full-scale monitoring and verification, until it was clear that Iraq would comply with such monitoring "on the Council's, not Iraq's, terms".

At its fourth plenary session in New York (28-30 October), the Commission

UN photo 159110/H. Arvidsson

Iraqi chemical weapons were destroyed in this incinerator at Muthanna.

discussed the destruction of Iraq's chemical weapons, ways to implement plans for ongoing monitoring and verification to ensure that Iraq did not reacquire proscribed weapons, and plans for the future control of imports into Iraq, in accordance with resolution 715 (1991).

Under Commission supervision, Iraq on 12 November began the large-scale destruction of its stocks of mustard agent, manufactured for chemical weapons. The Commission said the incinerator at Muthanna State Establishment operated at temperatures of 1,100 degrees centigrade to destroy chemical warfare agents and precursors. It had been built by Iraq and designed by a panel of international experts set up by the Commission. The incinerator could destroy, on average, 3 to 4 tonnes of agent a day. Destruction activities were expected to last about a year.

Meanwhile, at a second destruction plant at Muthanna, the neutralization of nerve agents through hydrolysis continued. As of 9 November, some 19 tonnes of nerve agent had been destroyed. Destruction of 122 millimetre rockets too dangerous to empty also continued. A total of 2,155 sarin-filled warheads had been destroyed at Muthanna, in addition to the 425 destroyed earlier at Khamisiyah.

On 17 December, Mr. Ekeus reported *(S/24984)* that the main areas requiring action before the Commission could report Iraq's substantial compliance were: Iraq's acceptance and implementation of all Commission privileges and immunities; unconditional acknowledgement by Iraq of its obligations under resolutions 707 and 715 (1991); Iraq's documentation of data in its declarations and provision to the Commission of a full picture of its foreign procurement networks and suppliers; full, final and complete disclosures required under resolutions 707 and 715; and plans for ongoing monitoring and verification to ensure that Iraq did not reacquire proscribed weapons.

UNIKOM, Boundary Commission

The Council on 9 October extended the mandate of UNIKOM for a further six-month period, until 31 March 1993. The Mission was established on 9 April 1991 to monitor the Iraq-Kuwait border. The Secretary-General reported *(S/24615)* that the situation in the demilitarized zone had been marked by a gradual heightening of tension in some areas. Although the trend had not so far become a cause for serious concern, it needed to be carefully monitored.

The Boundary Demarcation Commission held its seventh and eighth sessions (12-16 October, New York, and 14-16 December, Geneva), hearing reports on construction and emplacement of boundary pillars and markers.

Nicolas Valticos of Greece, a former International Court of Justice judge, succeeded former Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusuma-Atmadja as Chairman.

Security incidents

Stating he was "deeply concerned about recent security incidents" affecting World Food Programme (WFP) humanitarian relief convoys in northern Iraq, the Secretary-General decided on 21 December to assign UN guards to strengthen the protection of the convoys in that area. Since the relief operation began in mid-November, some 25 convoys with 410 trucks had brought more than 8,000 metric tonnes of much needed flour, seeds and fuel to the area.

WFP announced on 3 December that despite the bombing of six trucks in northern Iraq which destroyed 30 tonnes of flour, it would proceed with winter relief operations in all parts of the country. WFP said it was committed to feed 1.2 million people all over Iraq throughout the winter. On 16 December, unexploded time bombs were found in nine other trucks and eight more were blown up. There were no casualties.

On 22 October, the Memorandum of Understanding for humanitarian assistance in Iraq was signed in New York by UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs Jan Eliasson and Iraqi Ambassador Nizar Hamdoon. The Memorandum was originally signed on 18 April 1991. It was extended in November 1991 and had expired on 30 June 1992.

According to the new Memorandum, which would remain in force until 31 March 1993, UN guards would continue to be assigned as needed in the three northern Governorates of Suleimaniya, Arbil and Dohouk. The number of guards would not exceed 300. Iraq would grant the UN field staff safe and unimpeded access to facilitate the programme's implementation and would facilitate the safe and rapid delivery of humanitarian assistance commodities throughout the country.

A UN official said the $217-million programme primarily called for the distribution of humanitarian assistance in the north during the winter; activity in the south would focus on food distribution and basic medical care.

'A dangerous political and security situation'

Leaders asked to put peace process back on track

The Security Council has appealed to Angola's two main political leaders—Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi, President of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)—to accept a UN invitation to attend a joint meeting to help put the Angolan peace process back on track. It was proposed that Geneva, or another UN location such as Addis Ababa, be considered as a possible venue.

The 22 December appeal was made in the wake of some two months of turmoil, following the country's first-ever multi-party presidential and parliamentary elections on 29 and 30 September, certified by the UN as "generally free and fair".

The four-month electoral process was overseen by the UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II). UNAVEM was originally established by the Council in December 1988 to oversee withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

On 31 October, heavy fighting broke out in many parts of the country between Government and UNITA forces. A cease-fire was achieved on 2 November, but sporadic fighting has continued.

The Council acted on 22 December after Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported "disturbing evidence that both sides are continuing their preparations for a resumption of war on a large scale".

In a statement by Council President Chinmaya Rajaninath Gharekhan of India, the 15-member body expressed serious concern at the lack of progress in implementing the 31 May 1991 Peace Accords signed in Bicesse, Portugal, outside of Lisbon, and at the continuation of the dangerous political and security situation in Angola.

The Council urged both parties to demonstrate their commitment to the Accords, in particular with regard to confinement of troops, collection of weapons, demobilization, formation of the national armed forces and restoration of a central administration throughout the country.

The military forces of UNITA, it went on, should be immediately withdrawn from the northern Angolan cities of Uige and Negage and the Government administration fully restored there.

The Council urged UNITA and the Government to resume the direct talks begun in the southern Angolan town of Namibe on 26 November. Both parties, it stated, must agree without delay on security and other arrangements, which would allow all ministers and other high-ranking officials to occupy the posts which had been offered by the Government, and for all deputies to assume their functions in the National Assembly. Both parties must agree, it was stated, on a "realistic plan of action" to implement fully the Accords and on a continuing UN presence in Angola.

In the September elections, Angolan President dos Santos, who heads the governing Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), received 49.57 per cent of the votes, while Mr. Savimbi obtained 40.07 per cent. The remainder was divided among nine other candidates. (Angolan electoral rules require a 50 per cent majority vote for victory. Messrs. dos Santos and Savimbi, as the two chief contenders, should, under those rules, compete in a runoff.) In the parliamentary elections, the MPLA

UN Photo 159437/M. Grant

Angolans calmly awaited their turn to vote in the country's first multi-party elections in September 1992. Heavy fighting between Government and UNITA forces broke out in October.

received 53.74 per cent of the total vote and UNITA 34.1 per cent.

On 18 December, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali had outlined *(S/24996)* to the Council President what he described as a "worrying situation" in Angola and the failure of the two parties to work together to implement the Accords. Unless that situation changed rapidly, neither could he recommend the enlargement of UNAVEM II—which both parties seemed to want—nor would the international community feel justified in committing scarce resources for the continuation of that UN operation on its present scale.

Positive developments in November, including a meeting of the two parties on 26 November and their pledge to implement an effective cease-fire, had been offset by UNITA's take-over of Uige and Negage on 29 November, during which a UN police observer had been killed. Since then, he said, all attempts to restore dialogue between the two sides had failed.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali reported that recriminations being exchanged concerned: the situation in Uige and Negage; UNITA's refusal to withdraw its troops from municipalities which it had seized since the elections; the release of persons held by each side, particularly senior UNITA personalities living "under Government protection" in Luanda; the exchange of bodies of those killed in recent fighting; and mutual accusations of preparations for war.

In response to UNITA's concern over the security of its members in Luanda and other Government-controlled parts of the country, the Secretary-General said that he would be willing to recommend to the Council the provision of some UN military personnel, on a temporary basis, to facilitate the return to Luanda of Mr. Savimbi and UNITA members of the new Government and the elected Assembly.

While both sides agreed in principle that UNAVEM II should be strengthened, including the provision of armed troops, they differed as to the extent to which the Mission should exercise a good offices or mediatory function in the future and its involvement in the organization and conduct of the second round of presidential elections.

UN Photo 159442/M. Grant

UNAVEM II has worked hard to get the peace process back on track.

On 30 November, the Council had demanded that the Angolan Government and UNITA: scrupulously observe the cease-fire, which had been instituted on 2 November; immediately stop military confrontations and all offensive troop movements; and create conditions necessary for the completion of the peace process. It urged the two parties to demonstrate their full adherence to the 1991 Peace Accords.

In unanimously adopting resolution 793 (1992), the Council also extended the mandate of UNAVEM II for two months, until 31 January 1993. The two parties were urged to refrain from any action that might heighten tension or jeopardize the return to normalcy. The Council appealed to States contributing troops or police to help restore UNAVEM II's mandated strength as soon as possible.

The two parties were strongly urged to engage in a "continuous and meaningful" dialogue aimed at national reconciliation and the participation of all parties in the democratic process, and to agree on a clear timetable for fulfilment of their commitments.

Jeopardizing the process

The Council reaffirmed that any party refusing to take part in such a dialogue would be held responsible for jeopardizing the entire process and reiterated its readiness to consider all appropriate measures under the UN Charter to secure the Accords' implementation.

The Secretary-General was to provide by 31 January longer-term recommendations for the UN's role in the peace process, which should be clearly defined.

The Secretary-General told the Council that UNAVEM II could carry out its tasks effectively only if both parties demonstrated their full commitment to peace and if the safety and security of its personnel were guaranteed.

On 25 November, the Secretary-General had reported *(S/24858)* a "catastrophic deterioration" in the situation in Angola. The successful completion of the peace process and the establishment of multi-party democracy seemed farther off than at any time since before the Accords had been signed, he said. Many of the achievements since their signing had been "shattered".

Even though both sides agreed to an enlarged UNAVEM II presence, he would not recommend it unless they acceded to their obligation under the Accords to dissolve existing armies

and create non-partisan military and police forces.

The Secretary-General observed that immediately after election results were announced on 17 October, UNITA launched a nationwide operation to occupy municipalities by force and remove the Government's administrative structures. In some cases, administrators were killed, and in others, they either fled or were evicted and forced to walk to the nearest towns still controlled by the Government.

By 23 November, almost two thirds of the 164 municipalities in Angola were either confirmed or reported by UNAVEM II as being under UNITA control.

Since early November, UNAVEM II had acted as a mediator to help the parties consolidate the cease-fire and set the peace process back on course, which was outside the scope of its original mandate. That role, however, had been welcomed by the two sides, which shared the view that the UN should play an even larger role in helping create conditions for a second round of presidential elections. At a time when it was facing new tasks, the Mission's strength had fallen to 210 military observers and 77 police observers, compared with its authorized strength of 350 and 126, respectively.

The "root cause" of the breakdown in the peace process, the Secretary-General said, was the incomplete fulfilment of key provisions of the Accords, including the less than effective demobilization and storage of weapons, and delay in creating a unified Armed Forces and in the establishment of a neutral police force. It had also been difficult to create in 16 months an atmosphere of mutual confidence, tolerance and respect, he said.

On 27 November, the Secretary-General called the joint declaration made by the Angolan Government and UNITA in Namibe on 26 November "a positive step forward which could begin to rescue the country". Adopted in the presence of the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Angola, Margaret Anstee, the text underlined the commitment by both parties to: accept fully the validity of the Accords as "the only means of solving the Angolan problem"; reiterate and apply effectively the cease-fire throughout the whole national territory and cease immediately all offensive movements; and solicit the extension of UNAVEM II's mandate and call for its larger quantitative and qualitative involvement.

During a meeting on 19 November with the Angolan President, Ms. Anstee informed him that Mr. Savimbi had accepted the results of the elections of 29 and 30 September.

Distressed by violence

On 31 October, the Secretary-General said he was extremely distressed by the escalation of violence in Angola, and urged all parties to stop hostilities and desist from any acts that would worsen the already precarious situation.

On 30 October, the Security Council, deeply concerned by reports of recent hostilities by UNITA, had strongly condemned any such resumption and urgently demanded that it cease forthwith. In unanimously adopting resolution 785 (1992), it called on States to refrain from any action which could directly or indirectly jeopardize implementation of the Accords and increase tension in Angola, as well as jeopardize the continued conduct of the electoral process and threaten the country's territorial integrity.

The Council affirmed that any party which failed to abide by all the commitments under the Accords would be rejected by the international community.

While extending UNAVEM II's mandate, the Council also called upon UNITA and the other parties to the electoral process to respect the election results of 29 and 30 September and urged the leaders of UNITA and the Angolan Government to engage in a dialogue so that the second round of presidential elections could be held promptly.

The Council said it would hold responsible any party which refused to open such a dialogue, thereby jeopardizing the entire process.

In a 27 October statement by Council President Jean-Bernard Mérimée of France, it had expressed "serious concern" at the deterioration of the political situation and the rising tension in Angola, and called on UNITA and the other parties in the electoral process to respect the election results.

The Council strongly condemned the "attacks and baseless accusations" made by UNITA's radio station Vorgan against Ms. Anstee and UNAVEM II and called for their immediate cessation.

Arms embargo imposed on Liberia

A complete embargo on the delivery of weapons and military equipment to Liberia was unanimously imposed by the Security Council on 19 November. Cease-fire violations and attacks on West African peace-keeping forces were condemned.

Under the terms of resolution 788 (1992), the peace-keeping forces of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)—known as ECOMOG—were exempted from the arms embargo. The efforts of ECOWAS to restore peace and stability in Liberia, immersed in a bloody civil war since December 1989, were commended and the peace agreement it had brokered in October 1991—the Yamoussoukro IV Accord—was reaffirmed as offering the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict.

On 20 November, Trevor-Livingston Gordon-Somers was named Special Representative of the Secretary-General to Liberia.

The Assembly on 18 December *(47/154)* called for international aid to help resettle Liberian refugees.

New UN Operation to oversee troop withdrawal, elections

A new UN peace-keeping mission has been established by the Security Council to help implement a peace accord for Mozambique, signed in Rome on 4 October 1992, to end 14 years of civil war.

In adopting unanimously resolution 797 (1992) on 16 December, the Council authorized the UN Operation in Mozambique—to be known by the acronym ONUMOZ—for an initial period of 10 and a half months, until 31 October 1993. Its estimated 8,000 military and civilian personnel are to monitor withdrawal of foreign forces from the country and help administer the electoral process and humanitarian assistance.

The General Peace Agreement for Mozambique between the Government and the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO), which sets out principles and modalities for achieving peace, calls on the UN to supervise its implementation.

The Council endorsed the Secretary-General's recommendation that elections not take place until the Agreement's military aspects had been fully implemented. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was invited to consult closely with all Mozambican parties on the precise timing of and preparations for presidential and legislative elections. Under the Agreement, those elections should be held simultaneously a year after its signing.

The Mozambican Government and RENAMO were asked to cooperate fully with the UN to respect scrupulously the cease-fire, which entered into force on 15 October, and their obligations under the Agreement. Such compliance was considered a necessary condition for fulfilment of the ONUMOZ mandate. The Council also demanded that all parties ensure the safety of UN personnel.

Military observers

On 13 October, Aldo Ajello of Italy was appointed interim Special Representative for Mozambique, in line with Council resolution 782 (1992), adopted unanimously that same day. The dispatch of a team of up to 25 military observers was also approved under its terms.

Deeply concerned by reports of major violations of the cease-fire in Mozambique, the Council on 27 October had called upon parties to respect scrupulously the cease-fire and all commitments under the Agreement. Council President Jean-Bernard Mérimée of France urged full cooperation with the interim Special Representative and with measures to ensure the safety of UN staff.

In a 3 December report *(S/24892 Corr.1 & Add.1)*, the Secretary-General recommended that the ONUMOZ mandate encompass political, military, electoral and humanitarian components, and that "very substantial resources" be made available for the Operation, especially on the military side.

He stressed it would not be possible to create conditions for successful elections in Mozambique unless the military situation in the country was brought under control. But however great the resources the UN decided to devote to ONUMOZ, the Agreement would not be implemented unless Mozambican parties made a determined effort in good faith to honour their commitments.

ONUMOZ personnel would include military and civilian components in Maputo and throughout the country. The UN would chair the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission and two of its three subsidiary commissions, the Cease-fire Commission and the Reintegration Commission.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali, in formulating his recommendations, called attention to the country's size and devastated infrastructure, including communications, conditions of drought and food shortages, widespread abundance of arms and armed bandits operating outside the control of the armed forces of either side, and the displacement of millions of Mozambicans, either internally or in neighbouring countries.

He stressed the importance of control of Mozambique's four major transport corridors to avoid any vacuum that could be exploited by bandits, pending formation of the new unified armed forces.

Peace process in danger of paralysis

Faced with the continuing failure of the Party of Democratic Kampuchea (PDK) to canton and demobilize its forces as required by phase II of the cease-fire in Cambodia, the Security Council on 30 November condemned the PDK and demanded that it immediately fulfil its obligations under the October 1991 Paris Agreements, which provide for a comprehensive political settlement of the 20-year Cambodian conflict.

The Council further demanded that the PDK—one of four Cambodian parties to the Agreements—facilitate full deployment of the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) in areas under PDK control; not impede voter registration and activities of other political parties in those areas; and fully implement phase II of the cease-fire, particularly cantonment and demobilization.

The Council, the international community and Cambodians were confronted with the danger of a "paralysis of the peace process", the Secretary-General asserted. He believed that "patient diplomacy" was the best means of getting the peace process back on track.

In adopting resolution 792 (1992) by a vote of 14 to none, with 1 abstention (China), the Council determined that preparations for the elections, scheduled for May 1993, would proceed in all areas of Cambodia to which UNTAC had full and free access as of 31 January 1993.

UNTAC—the second largest but most expensive peace-keeping operation in UN history—was established on 28 February 1992.

The Paris Agreements had requested: establishment of a transitional authority to end two decades of war, destruction and suffering; creation of conditions for a lasting peace; and the holding of free and democratic elections with the participation of the four parties—Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant, Neutre, Pacifique et Coopératif, Khmer People's National Liberation Front, the PDK and the Party of the State of Cambodia (SOC).

As of 16 November, some 20,000 international personnel were attached to UNTAC, the bulk of whom were members of the peace-keeping force. There were 15,738 personnel serving in its military component, a civilian police component of 3,224, an international staff attached to UNTAC's five other components, divisions and administration numbering 927, and 426 UN volunteers.

During phase I of the cease-fire, the UN provided its good offices to facilitate the observance of the cease-fire by the parties. Phase II began on 13 June 1992.

Demobilization effectively suspended

Although some 55,000 troops of three of the factions—about a quarter of the estimated total—subsequently entered the cantonment sites and handed in their weapons, the PDK had ordered its troops not to canton. Thus, the Secretary-General reported, disarmament and demobilization had been effectively suspended.

However, despite scattered violations of the cease-fire and human

UN Photo 159186/P. Sudhakaran

Some 20,000 personnel are participating in the UNTAC mission, nearly 16,000 of them in its military component.

rights and despite "what seem to be politically motivated acts of harassment, intimidation and violence", UNTAC was progressing steadily in other aspects of its mandate, in particular in the voter-registration exercise, the Secretary-General stated.

By mid-December, 20 political parties had been provisionally registered to take part in the elections. The original estimate of 4.5 million people eligible to vote appeared to be low. Some 4.2 million had already registered when, on 22 December, a UN official announced that the voter-registration process had been extended by a month, to 31 January 1993, to provide returning refugees with a better chance to sign up. About 250,000 would have been repatriated by the end of December and the extension was expected to benefit another 100,000, some of whom were still in transit camps.

Resolution 792

Under resolution 792, adopted on 30 November, the Secretary-General was asked to consider the implications for the electoral process of the failure by the PDK to canton and demobilize its forces and, in response to that situation, to take steps to ensure the successful implementation of the electoral process.

The Council also called for measures, consistent with the Paris Agreements, to prevent the supply of petroleum products to areas occupied by any Cambodian party not complying with the Agreements' military provisions. It would consider taking appropriate measures should PDK obstruct implementation of the peace plan, such as freezing its assets held outside Cambodia.

UNTAC was asked to take measures to secure implementation of a moratorium on the export of logs from Cambodia, as called for on 22 September by the Supreme National Council of Cambodia (SNC).

UNHCR/I. Guest

Despite some problems with implementation of the peace plan, the UN mission has moved ahead on many fronts, including mine-clearing and road repair.

The SNC—which the Security Council has declared "the unique legitimate body and source of authority in which, throughout the transition period, the sovereignty, independence and unity of Cambodia are enshrined"—was asked to consider adoption of a similar moratorium on mineral and gem exports to protect the country's natural resources.

China, in abstaining from the vote on resolution 792, said it fully supported the Agreements' implementation, but could not support the resolution's provisions that seemed to encourage an economic embargo or raised the possibility of proceeding with an election that would have the participation of only three Cambodian parties.

Gains despite constraints

UNTAC had made substantial gains in the six months since its establishment, despite constraints imposed by PDK's refusal to participate fully in the peace process, the Secretary-General reported on 21 September *(S/24578)*.

In describing UNTAC activities, the Secretary-General observed that there had been extensive military deployment throughout the country, as well as a strong police presence extending to the village level. The international community had pledged $880 million to meet rehabilitation needs and for repatratiation of returning refugees. Supervision and control over existing administrative structures of three of the parties had been established and were being strengthened.

All UNTAC activities were becoming increasingly familiar to Cambodians and the UN mission had acquired a powerful momentum, enabling it to move ahead simultaneously on many fronts. Its presence had had a profound and probably lasting impact on Cambodia, the Secretary-General said.

He intended, subject to Council approval, to ask the Paris Conference on Cambodia to consult on ways out of the impasse.

Implementation of the Agreements, including provisions concerning verification of withdrawal and non-return of foreign forces and cessation of outside military assistance to the Cambodian parties, could require an increase in checkpoints within the country and along its borders, as well as more intensive military investigations and patrols. The present drift in the peace process could not be allowed to continue without seriously impairing UNTAC's ability to carry out its mandate within the time-frame set by the Council.

Resolution 783

On 13 October, the Security Council demanded that the PDK facilitate UNTAC's full deployment in areas under PDK control and fully implement phase II of the cease-fire plan, particularly cantonment and demobiliation.

By unanimously adopting resolution

In unanimously adopting resolution 783 (1992), the Council emphasized the importance of holding elections for a constituent assembly, no later than May 1993, in a neutral political environment. It encouraged the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to continue efforts to create such an environment. In that context, the Council asked that UNTAC radio broadcasts begin without delay to Cambodia's whole territory.

The Council also demanded that all parties in Cambodia facilitate UNTAC investigations of reports of foreign forces, foreign assistance and cease-fire violations within the territory under their control.

Demanding full respect for the cease-fire, the Council also called upon all parties in Cambodia to cooperate fully with UNTAC to identify minefields and refrain from any activity aimed at enlarging the territory under their control.

The Secretary-General and his Special Representative were also encouraged to enhance the effectiveness of existing civil police in resolving growing problems relating to the maintenance of law and order in Cambodia.

Increase in tensions

The Secretary-General on 15 November reported *(S/24800)* an increase in tension in the country's central and northern parts following artillery exchanges. UNTAC, he said, believed that the two largest factions—PDK and SOC—shared responsibility for the cease-fire violations. "Another disturbing development" was an increase in attacks on UNTAC personnel and helicopters in areas where PDK was known to be present.

UNTAC had found no evidence of the presence of "any formed units" of foreign forces in areas to which it had access. Investigations indicated that PDK forces—the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea—were responsible for the recent killings of Vietnamese-speaking villagers and fishermen.

Although UNTAC had drawn up plans to strengthen border controls, effective implementation of those plans would require the close cooperation of neighbouring countries.

On 9 November, UNTAC radio began broadcasting information on the electoral process, as well as on human rights and other aspects of the UNTAC mandate. Also, 3,400 of the 3,600 civilian police authorized for UNTAC had arrived in Cambodia. Up to two thirds of the police component was engaged in assisting with voter registration; the rest were training local police in basic police methods.

The Secretary-General regretted that PDK had not so far cooperated with UNTAC in implementing the Paris Agreements. If this continued, elections would take place with a substantial part of the forces of the Cambodian parties remaining armed, thereby adding to UNTAC's difficulties in organizing the election and ensuring the security of candidates, voters and electoral officials.

If UNTAC continued to be denied access to PDK-controlled areas, people living in those areas were "likely to be deprived of the opportunity to exercise" their electoral rights.

Because of PDK's failure to cooperate with phase II of the cease-fire and the resultant suspension of the demobilization process, the Secretary-General had approved the recommendation of his Special Representative, Yasushi Akashi, that UNTAC should "adjust the deployment of its military component" in order to foster a general sense of security among Cambodians and enhance its ability to protect the voter registration and, subsequently, the polling process. The Secretary-General also proposed that the current level of military deployment be maintained until the elections.

UNHCR/J. Zaprzala

Some 250,000 refugees had returned home by the end of December.

On 22 December, the Council strongly condemned the illegal detention of UNTAC personnel by PDK elements and acts of threat and intimidation against those personnel. It demanded that any hostile acts against UNTAC cease immediately and that all parties take action to safeguard the lives and security of UNTAC personnel throughout Cambodia.

On 21 October, Brunei Darussalam joined the nations contributing troops to UNTAC, bringing the total to 32. The others are: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bandgladesh, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, China, France, Germany, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Japan, Malaysia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Russian Federation, Senegal, Thailand, Tunisia, United Kingdom, United States and Uruguay.

47th GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Increased responsibilities, a wider, more practical role

Becoming a functional world parliament

With unprecedented responsibilities for maintaining international peace and security being thrust upon the UN, the forty-seventh General Assembly was summoned to take a more dynamic and practical role in mapping the political, economic and social activities of the post-cold-war world.

"The General Assembly is facing an historic challenge: to truly become a functional world parliament on the basis of the United Nations Charter", asserted Assembly President Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria, before suspending the 14-week session on 23 December.

"Clearly, one of the more significant implications of the post-cold-war geopolitical realignment presently under way is an increased practical role for the General Assembly in world activities", he told the world body, whose membership had reached 179, with the addition of 20 States between September 1991 and September 1992.

"The countries of the world", he said, "have assigned to the United Nations the heavy responsibilities of maintaining international peace and security, as well as of addressing a wide range of global, regional and local problems."

The long-awaited global chemical weapons ban—the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and Their Destruction—was commended by the Assembly.

The new treaty, which was elaborated for more than 10 years by the 40-member, Geneva-based Conference on Disarmament, was opened for signature in Paris on 13 January 1993 at a ceremony attended by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

"The Convention on Chemical Weapons is the first disarmament agreement negotiated within a multilateral framework", said Mr. Boutros-Ghali at the signing ceremony. "The scope of this multilateral Convention, the obligations assumed by the States parties, and the system of verification envisaged for its implementation are unprecedented."

The bulk of the session's substantive work was accomplished in the Assembly's seven main committees. Continuing a trend that has been building in recent years, committee debate was "without exception . . . characterized by an atmosphere of cooperation", said Mr. Ganev. "Even discussions on subjects that traditionally have been most contentious, such as those involving the Middle East conflict, were marked by a new, more conciliatory tone."

Some three quarters of the 276 resolutions adopted during 94 plenary meetings were approved by consensus, roughly the same proportion as in the two previous sessions.

Continuing crises

The forty-seventh session, which opened on 15 September, witnessed the continuing horrors of famine in Somalia and the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Crises like these, said Mr. Ganev, "ceaselessly tear at people's hearts and they, in turn, look to their respective leaders and to the United Nations for solutions".

Taking action towards those solutions, the Assembly welcomed the convening of an international conference on Somalia and called for the Security Council to consider the use of "all necessary means" to restore sovereignty to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The first resolution of the session *(47/1)*, adopted by recorded vote on 19 September, had contained the unusual decision to bar Yugoslavia from participating in the work of the Assembly. In 1974, South Africa was the first State to be barred from participation by a President's ruling.

In other important action, the Assembly: dispatched an observer team to monitor elections in Eritrea; called for aid efforts to be maintained in Mozambique, where a new UN peace-keeping operation—known by the acronym ONUMOZ—was launched on 16 December; and again supported the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, under UN auspices and with equal participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which would contribute to the promotion of peace in that region.

UN Photo 180997/J. Isaac

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali *(right)* at the Assembly podium.

UN Photo 181595/M. Tzovaras

Assembly President Stoyan Ganev *(right)* reviewing paperwork.

The Assembly called for respect for the commitments of the Peace Accords in Angola in a text reaffirming a zone of peace and cooperation in the South Atlantic—the region situated between Africa and South America.

New and ongoing political, humanitarian and human rights problems around the globe were also addressed, including, for the first time, the situation in Estonia and Latvia—two former Soviet republics.

Strong ties between the UN and regional organizations were of increasing importance to peace-keeping and related efforts. For example, the Secretary-General was asked to cooperate with the Organization of American States (OAS) to solve the crisis in Haiti in a text *(47/20)* strongly

UN Photo 182200/M. Tzovaras

American tennis great Arthur Ashe addressed the Assembly, which observed World AIDS Day on 1 December.

condemning the attempted illegal replacement of that country's constitutional President.

The Assembly also called for more cooperation between the UN and the OAS *(47/11)*, the Organization of African Unity *(47/148)*, the Organization of the Islamic Conference *(47/18)*, the League of Arab States *(47/12)*, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe *(47/10)* and the Latin American Economic System *(47/13)*.

Novel agendas

Two novel agendas were also central to the proceedings: the Secretary-General's report, "An Agenda for Peace", and "Agenda 21", the comprehensive action plan adopted at the June 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali's "An Agenda for Peace"—a blueprint for the future structure and activities of the Organization as requested by the Security Council summit meeting of January 1992—prompted widespread discussions in plenary on the future of UN peace-keeping.

The Assembly on 18 December encouraged *(47/120)* consultations between the Secretary-General and the Security Council at an early stage to develop strategies for the peaceful settlement of specific disputes.

It wanted: adequate early-warning mechanisms for situations likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security; expeditious consideration of requests from Member States for UN fact-finding and other missions; strengthening of the Organization's capacity to coordinate planning of humanitarian assistance programmes and peace-keeping or related operations; and exploration of ways the Assembly could influence the pre-emption or containment of any situation that might lead to international friction or dispute.

While a strong consensus existed on many of the ideas enshrined in "An Agenda for Peace", the Secretary-General's proposals for preventive deployment of UN forces were controversial. However, Assembly debate on that issue was somewhat overtaken by events. On 11 December, the Council approved the first ever preventive deployment of UN troops to guard against the eruption of conflict in Macedonia.

"Some countries worry that preventive deployment will interfere with sovereignty", said Benon Sevan, Assistant-Secretary-General of the Department of Political Affairs, "but people's conception of sovereignty is bound to change", he added, drawing attention to the Agenda, which states that the time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty had passed.

Many developing nations called for the Secretary-General to draw up an "agenda for development" to complement his "An Agenda for Peace". The Assembly asked for a report on that proposal in 1993, including an analysis and recommendations on the relationship between the UN and the Bretton Woods institutions in the promotion of international cooperation for development.

The Assemly on 22 December called for the establishment of a new Commission on Sustainable Development to oversee the implementation of "Agenda 21". It also endorsed the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development and a non-binding statement on the global management of forests agreed at the Conference.

Humanitarian aid

An extraordinary increase in complex crises involving ethnic and civil strife required the UN in 1992 to take a stronger, more comprehensive role in the provision of relief assistance. Humanitarian issues had been elevated to a high priority through the creation of a new department of Humanitarian Affairs, headed by Under-Secretary-General Jan Eliasson of Sweden who, as Emergency Relief Coordinator, was in charge of coordinating the UN system's emergency relief operations and a new $50-million Central Emergency Revolving Fund.

"Far-reaching changes internationally and within the United Nations are essential if the world wishes to minimize the suffering of populations trapped by civil-war induced starvation", said Mr. Eliasson on 14 January 1993. The recent developments are "a sign that humanitarian affairs are a crucial issue and a sign that Member States are ready to accord this role to the UN".

To help make UN response to humanitarian crises more effective, the Assembly recommended establishment of a central register of specialized personnel, equipment and supplies to enhance the stand-by capacity for emergency relief.

It also sought increased contributions to the Revolving Fund and consolidated appeals, a tool by which the resource needs of all humanitarian agencies are combined to avoid multiplicity of individual appeals, allowing for greater coordination and prioritization.

In 1992, the UN issued consolidated appeals for humanitarian crises amidst wars in Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia/Eritrea, Iraq, Liberia, Mozambique, Somalia, Sudan and Yugoslavia, as well as appeals on behalf of several former Soviet republics.

The Assembly also considered an unusually large number of appeals for emergency assistance during the session: 5 of 13 new agenda items related to international assistance to help mitigate natural disasters and the impact of war and other emergencies in countries such as Afghanistan, Croatia, Pakistan, the Philippines and Nicaragua.

People-centred UN

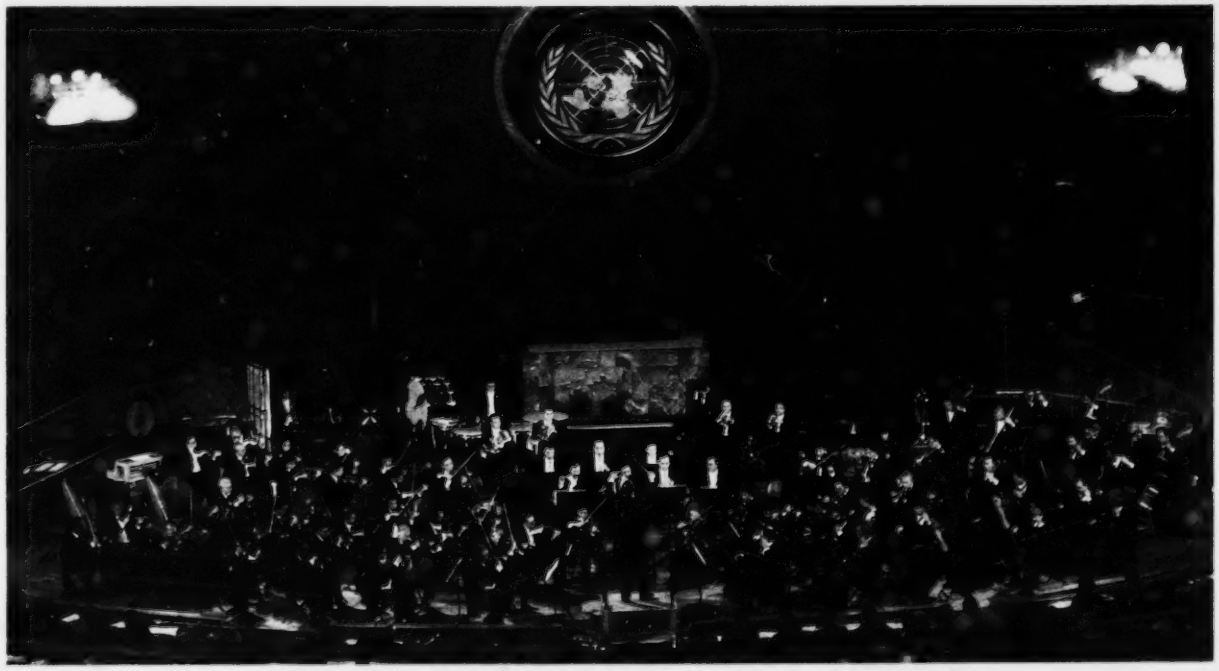
Further augmenting what the Secretary-General has called an increasingly "people-centred" focus of the UN, the Assembly decided to convene in 1995 the World Summit for Social Development. The Summit, to be held in Copenhagen, Denmark, will primarily seek ways to alleviate poverty, expand productive employment and enhance social integration in all societies.

The Assembly also approved a provisional agenda for the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna *(see special section on human rights, pp. 91-98)*. Other upcoming conferences and observances acted on by the Assembly include: the International Year of the World's Indigenous People (1993); UN Year for Tolerance (1994); International Conference on Population and Development (1995); UN Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT II) (1996); Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing Countries (1994); World Day for Water (22 March); and International Day for the Eradication of Poverty (17 October).

A participant in the launching of the International Year of the World's Indigenous People, 1993.

Further highlighting the unique needs of the world's diverse humanity, 10 plenary meetings were devoted to four special commemorations: the conclusion of the UN Decade of Disabled Persons (12 and 13 October); the tenth anniversary of the adoption

UN Photo 181797/E. Debebe



The National Orchestra of Spain performed a wide repertoire of works in the Assembly Hall in honour of United Nations Day, 24 October.

A touch of glamour at the 47th Assembly

By Elsa B. Endrst

Two new UN delegates to the 47th General Assembly—the vivacious lead singer of the "Miami Sound Machine" and a trim, elegant Filipino diplomat—lent a touch of glamour to its often austere parliamentary proceedings.

Cuban-American Gloria Estefan, internationally-known recording star, said she took her presidential appointment as a public delegate of the United States to the Assembly very seriously. "Just seeing how things work at the UN has been a great experience for me", she noted. "Even though things may seem to move very slowly at times, after having been here during the session, I really feel very optimistic about the role the UN will play in the future of the world."

Ms. Estefan, 34, spent a lot of time in the Assembly's Third Committee, which deals with social, humanitarian and cultural issues. Her dedication and personal contribution to human needs around the world may stem in part from her Cuban-refugee background.

Moreover, she feels women are particularly well-suited to deal with the work of the Committee because they've been "victims of a lack of human rights throughout the ages. We have a special feeling for it!"

Ms. Estefan, who has travelled the world on her concert tours, has often visited in poverty-stricken areas, accompanied by her husband Emilio and their son, 12-year-old Nayie. She says: "I want him to see the world as it is." They try, she says, to help people on a one-to-one basis. For example, after the devastating Hurricane Andrew, the family rented a truck and personally delivered relief supplies to the storm's victims. "It's easy to write a check, and we did that too. But writing a check doesn't leave you with any good feelings or sense of values."

Narcisa de Leon Escaler, Philippines Ambassador, with the Secretary-General.

Gloria Estefan in the Third Committee.

The new Philippine Ambassador to the United Nations, Narcisa de Leon Escaler, considers her new job "extremely challenging". She said: "There seems to be a concerted effort on the part of all Governments at the world Organization, particularly those of powerful nations, to really make the UN an effective instrument of peace and development"; in other words, she added, "to play the role that it was always meant to play".

Ambassador Escaler, 48, has had a distinguished career in both business and government, having been a key aide in the Aquino administration. "Whether you are a man or a woman, just being yourself is a very important trait for a diplomat. Putting on a front or assuming that you know everything will be discovered very early on by your colleagues."

Despite her accomplishments, she does not consider herself a traditional feminist. "I've never been leery of being a woman, with all its feminine connotations. To deny that would be to deny a great part of yourself."

From her outsider's point of view, Ms. Estefan would like to see some changes at the UN. "I can see why there has to be strict protocol in the General Assembly", she says. "But I think it really needs to be streamlined. At the pace that problems are coming up in the world, it should move along much quicker. So, maybe some rules could be established where if 20 countries are going to say the same thing, couldn't they just say 'DITTO'? It could save a lot of time", she concluded with a devilish smile.

Ambassador Escaler is pleased with the "hopeful signs" of change developing at the United Nations. "The reform process and the restructuring point to a process of revitalization", she said. "With the changing role of the UN, I find it extremely interesting and challenging to be here in my post. Given the possibilities that we have before us right now, hopefully I too can make a modest contribution."

of the International Plan of Action on Ageing (15 and 16 October); observance of World AIDS Day (1 December); and opening ceremonies of the International Year of the World's Indigenous People (10 December).

On each occasion, representatives of non-governmental organizations and other speakers were allowed to address delegations. Indeed, for the special session on the Decade of Disabled Persons, wheelchair access was provided and all speeches were signed so that persons with disabilities could, for the first time, participate in an Assembly meeting.

Restructuring

The tumultuous changes taking place in world affairs have not occurred in isolation from the Organization itself. An agenda item on the equitable representation on and increase in membership of the Security Council, inscribed in 1979, was acted on for the first time by the 47th Assembly, which asked for input from Member States on the issue *(47/62)*.

Recognizing the changes in the international political situation and in UN membership, some speakers in debate said the current composition of the Council was no longer valid. Many said a change to a more representative Council would enhance its credibility, legitimacy and moral authority.

Moreover, the Assembly must "seriously consider its own future", said President Ganev, who was engaged in consultations on "practical improvements" that could be instituted. It "must do more than promote and reflect the expression of good intentions on the part of its Member States by merely passing resolutions", he said. It must be "empowered with mechanisms for implementing the decisions it takes".

No other single reform within the UN system, Mr. Ganev concluded, "would ultimately be as effective in establishing the legal legitimacy and moral force of the Organization; in creating the conditions for realizing the goals of conflict resolution and preventive diplomacy; and in delivering development assistance, technical aid, or humanitarian relief".

Meanwhile, the Secretary-General continued a process of Secretariat reorganization that had characterized his first year in office. In December, he announced the creation of three new departments in New York in the economic and social sector: the Department of Development Support and Management Services (headed by Ji Chaozhu of China); the Department of Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development (headed by Nitin Desai of India); and the Department of Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis (headed by Jean-Claude Milleron of France).

Expert panel

This followed the conclusion on 22 November of the work of a panel of high-level independent experts, established by the Secretary-General in August to advise him on the reform of Secretariat structures in the economic and social field. The Secretary-General accepted the panel's recommendation that he designate a high-level official to oversee the next phase of Secretariat reform, naming Kenneth K. S. Dadzie, Secretary-General of the UN Conference on Trade and Development, for that task.

The Assembly also had established a working group to consider restructuring the UN in the economic and social fields, and would hear from the ad hoc body when it completes its consultations in 1993.

UN Photo 180867/I. Isaac

UN Photo 181253/M. Tzovaras

Mr. Boutros-Ghali told the Fifth Committee that there was a need for "a more rational distribution of responsibilities between Headquarters and UN Centres in Geneva, Nairobi, and Vienna, as well as among global, regional and field structures". He also intended to create a single UN presence at the national level to carry out "an integrated strategy" in each country where the Organization operates.

Furthermore, the Secretary-General announced on 16 December the elimination of four Assistant-Secretary-General posts in the Department of Administration and Management. (These were in addition to 14 high-level posts abolished earlier in the year). The four offices—Programme Planning, Budget and Finance; Conference Services; Human Resources Management; and General Services—will instead be headed by officials at the Director level.

Several recent appointments by the Secretary-General increased the number of high-level women in UN posts: Ibrahima Fall of Senegal was named Assistant-Secretary-General for Human Rights; Elizabeth Dowdeswell of Canada was named Executive Director of the UN Environment Programme; and Gertrude Mongella of the United Republic of Tanzania was named Secretary-General of the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995.

Other matters

A contentious item during the session was the scale of assessments of Member States to the UN budget. The necessity of a new scale of assessments—as a result of the dissolution of the former Soviet Union and the subsequent admission to the UN of 12 of the 15 former Soviet republics—gave rise to intensive discussions and negotiations in the Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary).

In the end, because the recommendations of the Committee on Contributions were challenged by the former republics as being exorbitant, the decision endorsing *(47/456)* those recommendations was, for the first time in many years, adopted by recorded vote rather than by consensus.

Another heated debate ensued over the necessity of ending the United States embargo against Cuba. By a vote of 59 to 3 (Israel, United States, Romania), with 71 abstentions, the Assembly *(47/19)* called on States to refrain from applying laws or measures affecting the sovereignty of other States and freedom of trade and navigation. It urged those States, which had such laws or measures, to repeal or invalidate them as soon as possible.

The General Assembly: Vital Statistics
1987-1992

Years	*Session*	*Total number of meetings*	*Number of agenda items*	*Number of resolutions adopted*
1987/88	42nd	116	145	324
1988/89	43rd	96	154	324
1989/90	44th	100	161	335
1990/91	45th	82	158	344
1991/92	46th	92	149	305
1992/93*	47th	94*	152	276*

* Figures reflect action only up until the Assembly was suspended on 23 December 1992. Decisions on several items are still pending and additional items are still to be taken up at resumed sessions in 1993.

The Nations Speak

Caught in the throes of pervasive change, Seeking effective and swift responses

The 1992 general debate—taking place at a time of both "unprecedented opportunities" and "sober assessment", in the words of General Assembly President Stoyan Ganev—saw a record-breaking 167 speakers address the new and complex problems facing the world community.

One by one, they stood at the familiar green marble podium, many stressing that the United Nations must become "truly effective and swiftly responsive" to the new world order, undertaking preventive diplomacy and peacemaking activities to safeguard social and economic conditions for all.

As the annual forum for the Organization's 179 Member States, the three-week debate which began on 21 September, provided "a multidimensional view of virtually every major international problem", said President Ganev at its conclusion on 8 October. The 47th Assembly session had convened, he said, at a "crucial moment" in UN history. He emphasized the importance of realizing the Assembly's "full potential as an unprecedented world parliament".

The parade of speakers, which included 24 Heads of State, 1 Vice-President, 13 Prime Ministers, 10 Deputy Prime Ministers, 103 Foreign Ministers and 16 Permanent Representatives, also "reflected a cohesion of ideas regarding the critical need for reform" in the UN, including the General Assembly, Mr. Ganev said.

A strong impetus for future reform was found in Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's historic "An Agenda for Peace". Foreign Minister Mario Carias Zapata of Honduras said the noteworthy report embodied "both vision and realism that will enable us to make progress in forging a more secure and prosperous world".

Sustainable development was another concern; developed nations "must reduce pressure on the environment through corrective action to enable developing countries . . . to achieve environmental space for industrialization", said Ahmed Hassan Diria, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the United Republic of Tanzania.

Commenting on many crises around the world, almost every nation lamented the bloody conflict raging in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where a reported 100,000 people had been killed since the spring of 1992. Speedy and resolute action was called for to end the carnage.

Reflecting the strong sentiments of Muslim countries, Saudi Arabia's Foreign Minister, Prince Saud Al-Faisal, forcefully declared that the war in "beleaguered" Bosnia and Herzegovina was not a civil war but "a war of extermination waged openly on the people of a sovereign, independent State whose territory has been occupied by the perpetrators of that brutal and savage aggression".

Only if the UN and regional organizations proved "capable of protecting individual States from external aggression and minorities from domestic persecution will it be possible", said German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, "to make the desired transition from policies of national hegemony and armament to the rule of law, collective security and economic and social development".

The world was "far from being peaceful, just and secure", concluded Indonesian President Soeharto, who also spoke on behalf of the 108-member Non-Aligned Movement. "Simmering disputes, violent conflicts, aggression and foreign occupation, interference in the internal affairs of States, policies of hegemony and domination, ethnic strife, religious intolerance, new forms of racism and narrowly conceived nationalism continue to obstruct the building of harmonious coexistence between States and peoples and have even led to the disintegration of States and societies." He stressed: "A world caught in the throes of pervasive change and transition is basically an unstable and unpredictable world."

El Hadj Hassan Gouled Aptidon, President of Djibouti.

Africa

In search of solutions to economic malaise

The political impasse in South Africa and the economic crisis stifling the continent—home to a majority of the world's least developed countries—weighed heavily on the minds of African delegates. These countries, which form the overwhelming majority of the UN membership, were also greatly concerned with the continuing economic difficulties of developing countries in general.

Commenting on the "rising levels of poverty among vast sectors of the world's population", President El Hadj Hassan Gouled Aptidon of Djibouti said that redefining international cooperation for development must be the new priority of the multilateral programmes. "It is thus essential to define a broader approach to this cooperation, one which pays particular attention to the developing countries in general, and to the least developed countries in particular, with a view to achieving sustainable development."

Imbalances between developed and developing countries were being exacerbated, stated Théodore Holo, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Benin. If current trends persist until the year 2000, he said, "the citizens of the richest nations will have an average annual income of more than $13,600, while those from the least developed African countries will have an average per capita income of only $217—that is, $12 less than in 1985".

Drought and desertification further threatened the economic prospects of many developing countries, stated Sir Ketumile Masire, President of Botswana. Urgent measures to combat these scourges, including negotiation of a desertification convention, would, he said, "contribute substantially to the search for solutions to the economic malaise facing our continent".

Many Africans felt that the UN Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development (1986-1990) had not achieved its objectives because of the international community's failure to provide the requisite resources. Thus, Africa's partners must have the political will to live up to their commitments so that the successor to the Programme—The UN New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s—can succeed in accelerating the transformation, integration and diversification of African economies.

On the continuing struggle in southern Africa, hope was expressed that the stalled negotiations between Pretoria and the African National Congress would be resumed soon.

The decisive steps taken by the Security Council in Somalia were commended, but some speakers said the extent of the suffering could have been greatly alleviated had action been taken faster.

Hope was also expressed that the parties in Angola would accept the results of the UN-monitored elections; that there would be a negotiated settlement to the long and costly civil war in Mozambique; that efforts by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) would bring about peace and democracy in Liberia; and that the UN would ensure that the referendum plan for Western Sahara was carried out in a manner that reflected the genuine aspirations of the Sahrawi people.

The UN appeared to be the ideal forum for seeking and identifying solutions to the problems of all kinds assailing the world, observed Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, speaking on behalf of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). "It is here that modern history is being woven and it is here that ideas are expressed that plant the seeds of the future."

ALGERIA

Foreign Minister Lakhdar Brahimi said: "The so-called world order remains a concept without substance for the overwhelming majority of mankind, whose economic and social situation is steadily deteriorating and who also have reason to fear that this new order is being established outside the bounds of the basic principles of the . . . Charter and without meeting the need to democratize international relations." Initiatives to restructure the UN should aim at a "correct balance of prerogatives between the General Assembly and the Security Council", and also allow access to the Council for all major cultural, political and geographic groupings. Efforts to implement the Western Sahara settlement plan should be redoubled. He called for a peaceful solution to tensions between Libya and the major western Powers.

ANGOLA

Domingos Manuel Nginga, Vice-Minister for External Relations, said the process of peace and democratization under way in Angola "cannot but have positive repercussions and effects in the international sphere". The poverty growing daily in the African continent was worsened by natural calamities that exacerbate the present grave economic and social situation. In South Africa, he called for the establishment of a transitional government and elaboration of a democratic constitution and for holding free elections based on the principle of "one person, one vote". Also, Mozambique should persevere in its peace effort, assisted by the international community, with a view to achieving peace and national reconciliation. On East Timor, there should be direct negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia without excluding the legitimate representatives of the Maubere people.

BENIN

Théodore Holo, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said Africa's economic horizon was "darkening daily", with a continent-wide debt of more than $270 billion. "In 1990, our States had to pay out $23 billion to service this debt." Benin appealed for urgent international action to reduce Africa's debt burden and increase financial flows for its development. Measures to ease or cancel debt should be accompanied by detailed, explicit programmes on conditions for financing structural adjustment programmes and repaying that debt. To reach the objectives of the New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s, the international community should support African efforts to achieve autonomous growth and socio-economic development. Firm support was also needed to restore peace in Liberia, Somalia and elsewhere in Africa, which had "suffered too much".

BOTSWANA

Sir Ketumile Masire, President of Botswana, welcomed the resumption of negotiations in South Africa, saying they were the country's "only hope". The African economic situation was "still bleak". Many economies had "stagnated or retrogressed" during 1991. The New Agenda for Africa should be translated into concrete programmes to put Africa on the path to economic recovery and development. "The problems of poverty, unemployment, huge foreign debt, budget deficits, lack of market access, high interest rates and the environment are not the problems of any one country or group of countries. No one country can solve them in isolation", he stated. He noted that the magnitude of the "serious drought crises ravaging southern Africa" was daunting and urged negotiation of a desertification convention.

BURKINA FASO

Foreign Minister Thomas Sanon said the Security Council's role and composition must be reviewed. "But we fear that the discussion might be limited to merely expanding a club whose members would continue to view their status as a privilege, not a weighty responsibility." Furthermore, he said, "there can be no true security or just and lasting peace while three quarters of mankind continues to live in destitution, wretchedness and ignorance". Africa still bore an external debt of more than $236.7 billion, and faced tariff and customs barriers, high rates of population growth and painful structural adjustment programmes. "The rewards of the tireless efforts by African countries have not been commensurate with the sacrifices we have made. The promises of the North remain promises."

BURUNDI

Prime Minister Adrien Sibomana said: "While a series of events, of which everyone is aware, is persuading peoples to work together to achieve economic and even political integration, nations are being torn apart by very bloody fratricidal conflicts." One had only to consider the "extremely worrying" situation in Somalia to realize that "the world is still a theatre for tragedies that one cannot bear to watch". Men and women continue to "wallow in deprivation", especially in Africa, "where ignorance, hunger and sickness still reign on a grand scale".

CAMEROON

Pascal Biloa Tang, Permanent Representative to the UN, said that in Africa, there was "an unprecedented economic crisis, aggravated by natural disasters, civil wars and the social consequences of structural adjustment, which threaten the process of democratization". The UN New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s must be launched urgently. He hoped that the conference on the development of Africa, to take place in Japan in 1993, would mobilize additional resources to re-launch growth and start economic recovery in that continent. Also, a "harmonious transition" in South Africa "to a democratic, non-racial and united

country free of violence" was in everyone's interest, he stated. He wanted economic, social and cultural rights to be accorded the same importance as civil and political rights.

CAPE VERDE

Foreign Minister Jorge Carlos Fonseca said Africa was the continent most affected by drought and desertification. A global plan was required to face that "calamity" successfully. The Assembly must find ways to "restore its lost prestige" and a relative balance among regions must be achieved in the Security Council. The precarious economic situation in which developing countries found themselves offered fertile ground for the resurgence of conflict. "Ours is an era of armed confrontation and profound changes in the international scene", he declared. "But it is equally an era that offers a unique opportunity and exceptional conditions that nurture great expectations and hope in the shaping of a better and more peaceful relationship between nations aimed at building a collective future of peace and well-being."

CHAD

Foreign Minister Mahamat Ali Adoum said the international community must bring sustained pressure to bear to ensure that "the vestiges of primitive racism will yield to a democratic, multiracial and egalitarian South African society". Chad deplored the break-up of the Somalian nation "as a result of the appetites of certain warlords there". It was high time that the international community ended "this abominable carnage whose victims are always the same: women and children". He urged the heads of the Somali factions to sit down at the negotiating table and try to end "the terrible tragedy of the Somali people". Chad also urged Liberia's "primary leaders" to "heed the voice of reason". There was a real desire for change and progress in the world. "Men must show that, having avoided a nuclear holocaust, they are now capable of building a universal peace through development."

COMOROS

Amini Ali Moumin, Permanent Representative to the UN, said: "The profound and far-reaching transformations that our planet has undergone during the past four years are very encouraging. General ideological confrontation is rapidly disappearing, and dictatorial and authoritarian Governments are falling one after another. We are witnessing a renewal of freedom, equality and respect for the dignity of man." His country favoured dialogue and a peaceful solution to the question of the Comorian island of Mayotte. Nevertheless, it noted "with some bitterness" that France had showed no evidence of a desire to find a solution to the problem.

CONGO

Benjamin Bounkoulou, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Hydrocarbons, said Africa was suffering from drought, famine and disease—an "appalling picture" that called for action by the international community. Along with the questions of the maintenance of peace, drug abuse, the environment and humanitarian assistance, Africa was one of the five UN priorities in the 1990s. Paradoxically, however, since the adoption of the UN New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s, the implementation of that programme, "based on a new partnership", was suffering from a lack of priority. All parties in South Africa must agree to end the violence and must show restraint. The Liberian and Somalian tragedies continued to give reason to fear the destabilization of a number of States.

CÔTE D'IVOIRE

Foreign Minister Amara Essy was confident of the international community's ability to mobilize support for the African countries' efforts to realize the aims of the new UN Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s, which constituted a major challenge that must meet with success if Africa was "not to be irredeemably marginalized at the dawn of the twenty-first century". Africa "needs to be considered by the rest of the world as a partner rather than a burden. The partnership it seeks implies dignity rather than dependency, mutual interests rather than charity."

DJIBOUTI

President El Hadj Hassan Gouled Aptidon said the new Programme for the Development of Africa in the 1990s—a contract between Africa and its international partners—merited international support. A climate of security was needed, conducive to resumption of dialogue for the emergence of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. In Somalia, he said, the tragedy was not inevitable: "human stupidity sometimes causes more devastation than natural disasters". That country had returned to a state of "veritable barbarism". The result of the "tenacity of the oppressive, tyrannical warlords and clans" had "reduced a whole country to rubble". It was a "wasteland ruled by armed gangs of bandits and looters", with death, human misery and abject poverty rampant.

EGYPT

Foreign Minister Amre Moussa said that the Security Council's "ever-increasing role" necessitated a review of its membership and the scope of its responsibility "so that it may be a genuine reflection of international and regional forces". The establishment of a new world order "cannot and should not be realized through imposition or coercion, but rather through a democratic process in which all peoples and States of the world would have a role and a say". That could be achieved only through the UN. "Middle East Arab and non-Arab States, with the exception of one, have joined the international system of inspection or the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons." Israel's "massive arsenal" negated the effectiveness of disarmament instruments, he stated.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Don Benjamin Mba Ekua Miko, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Francophonie, said that in South Africa, apartheid and racial discrimination continued to claim innocent victims. "Selfish political interests" in Somalia and the desire for power had combined with natural disasters "to accelerate the disappearance of an entire nation". The civil war in Liberia continued to claim victims and had spilled over its borders, destabilizing countries of the subregion. The increasingly acute economic and financial crisis afflicting all countries, and the developing ones in particular, could be solved by a reduction in military budgets, progress in disarmament, curbing of the arms race, democracy, free markets and respect for fundamental freedoms. His country "flatly" rejected the March 1992 report of the Human Rights Commission.

ETHIOPIA

Seyoum Mesfin, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia, said, regarding Somalia, that "certain quarters" were undermining the peaceful resolution of the crisis by supplying weapons to the warring factions instead of relief assistance to the suffering people of Somalia. He called on "these quarters to desist from attempts to polarize the region of the Horn of Africa" and instead to work with the Governments of the region, the UN, the Organization of African Unity and others to restore lasting peace and stability in Somalia. "Democracy cannot be nurtured and sustained to grow into a robust institution in countries characterized by economic deprivation and destitution." It was therefore imperative to democratize the international economy with the same vigour deployed to democratize international politics.

GABON

Pascaline Bongo, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Francophonie, said that third world countries should be represented in the Security Council as permanent members "in order to make decision-making at that level more democratic". The Assembly's political role and the Economic and Social Council's supervisory functions should be further strengthened to make the entire UN system more dynamic. The creation of an increasing number of subregional and regional economic groupings, as well as the globalization of international trade, had turned the world into "one immense market whose working rules should be equitable". Africa—70 per cent of whose exports consisted of prime commodities—had been hard hit by the fall in their prices. Gabon advocated the creation of a sort of "Marshall Plan" for Africa.

GAMBIA

Omar B. Sey, Minister for External Affairs, said: "Today we are witnessing the emergence of a new world order grounded in the principles of respect for human rights, political pluralism and self-determination. This new world order, which is still unfolding, marks the end of the cold war and the beginning of a strengthened role for the United Nations.". Nowhere was the economic situation "more bleak and desperate" as in Africa, where the cumulative debt stood at around $272 billion, the approximate equivalent of 90 per cent of the continent's gross national product. He echoed the Secretary-General's proposals to cancel official bilateral debts and other semi-official debts such as export credits, as well as the substantial reduction of debts owed to multilateral financial institutions, which account for 40 per cent of sub-Saharan servicing.

GHANA

Mohammed Ibn Chambas, Provisional National Defence Council Deputy Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said the Security Council's present composition, "with the outmoded and obviously undemocratic permanent-five arrangement that reflects the post-Second-World-War situation and its 10 two-year rotative seats for the rest of the world, flies in the face of a global reality in which we are all expected to play our part in maintaining the peace". He said: "The creeping tendency on the part of certain nations to see themselves as policy-makers and executors on behalf of the entire United Nations membership through their predominance in the Security Council does not send out welcome signals to the rest of us as equal partners in world affairs."

THE NATIONS SPEAK

GUINEA

Ibrahima Sylla, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said: "The new world architecture is taking shape against a backdrop of persistent poverty and misery in the South, in contrast to the general well-being in the North." Most African countries had undertaken deep political, economic and social reforms. But the efforts undertaken on the national, subregional and regional levels had not enjoyed the expected international support. "The international community must . . . build on the ruins of the old East-West order, a new order based on more dynamic and more innovative North-South relations." Poverty undermined the fabric of States and threatened "the very foundation of human rights".

GUINEA-BISSAU

Boubacar Touré, Permanent Representative to the UN, said the determination to democratize in Africa—"an almost forgotten continent"—was facing difficulties that stemmed from the implementation of structural adjustment policies, which did not have the expected donor support. "This situation worsens the state of impoverishment and the feeling of frustration of our peoples. The dependence of Guinea-Bissau, in particular, and of African States, in general, on international agencies and bilateral partners is thereby strengthened." There could be no real democracy without development. In spite of efforts to implement structural adjustment programmes, "our economic situation and living conditions are becoming increasingly difficult". He called urgently for the rapid establishment of an intergovernmental committee to develop an international convention to fight drought and desertification.

KENYA

Wilson Ndolo Ayah, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, said that some 2 million people would be condemned to certain death before the human tragedy in Somalia was eventually brought to a conclusion. All Somali factions should discuss a durable solution. In South Africa, he looked forward to the resumption of a Convention for a Democratic South Africa talks to accelerate movement towards genuine democracy. He was pleased that the Earth Summit had called attention to the need to start work on an international convention on desertification, with special reference to Africa. Protectionism, along with subsidies, had adversely affected the ability of developing countries, particularly those in Africa, to earn badly needed foreign exchange and had resulted in developing countries losing some $500 billion a year.

LESOTHO

Major-General Elias Phisoana Ramaema, Chairman of the Military Council and Council of Ministers, was optimistic as the UN was "now poised to assume a major role in shaping the new world order". Never before had such a congenial atmosphere prevailed "for collective action towards creating a secure and viable future for mankind". He voiced "the lingering perception on the part of developing countries, particularly small States, that the post-cold-war era can potentially lead to their political and economic marginalization". The efforts of many developed countries "in nurturing the seed of democracy" would need to be complemented by enhanced resource flows from developed countries to assist developing countries "not only to escape from the vicious circle of underdevelopment, but also to institutionalize a culture of democracy".

LIBERIA

Gabriel Baccus Matthews, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Interim Government of National Unity, said Liberians wanted an end to the civil war. "We want a unified country. We want free and fair elections." There was no reason "for the pitting of Liberians against each other in a zero-sum game and the transformation of the country into a mass grave". There was still a need for continued humanitarian assistance to Liberia. He also called on the international community to support wholeheartedly the New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s in order to grant relief to African countries. "If we muster the courage and the will to face squarely the new realities of the post-cold-war era, then the chances will be enhanced of a stable international environment in which the United Nations can promote social progress and development while keeping the peace."

LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA

Ibrahim Muhammad Al-Bishari, Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation, said that what had become known as the Lockerbie Case "pinpoints the dangers inherent in the tendency of certain States to use the powers of the Security Council to achieve their own private objectives and to use double standards in dealing with issues before the Council in a manner that deals high-handedly and arbitrarily with the sovereignty and rights of small and vulnerable countries". Libya called for a peaceful settlement to the situation that has evolved from the Lockerbie incident, "a settlement that will safeguard the rights of all, maintain the principles of international law, and save the world

from escalation and confrontation". The "unjust sanctions" against Libya had caused "a great deal of human and material harm, loss and suffering to the Libyan people", and should be lifted.

MADAGASCAR

Foreign Minister Césaire Rabenoro said newly independent States and new Member States had called for the implementation of democratic rules within the UN. "It is therefore not astonishing to hear them speak at one point of expanding the Security Council, at another of eliminating the veto right, or at another still of extending or modifying the exercise of that right." The right of veto was challenged by everyone except those who had it. The 1945 Charter had to be revised. "It will still be necessary for the five permanent members to agree as a whole to renounce their implicit veto right when it comes time for ratifying whatever changes the sovereign Assembly may adopt. That is the only way for us to overcome the impasse." As long as "the international political situation is under a burden, the search for a solution to the development crises will be in vain".

MALAWI

Lovemore G. Munlo, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, supported the combined efforts of the UN, the OAU and the Organization of the Islamic Conference in working to achieve peace and stability in Somalia. The end of the 16-year civil war in Mozambique meant that the Nacala and Beira corridors, Malawi's "most cost-effective routes to the sea", would begin to function at full capacity. He hoped that the more than 1 million refugees Malawi had hosted from Mozambique would return to their homes. Southern Africa was experiencing the most serious drought in living memory, which had a major debilitating effect on development efforts.

MALI

Foreign Minister Mohamed Alhousseini Touré said: "The international community must strive to free up, for the poorest countries, sufficient resources to correct the imbalances in our economies, to mitigate the effects of adjustment on the most vulnerable sectors and to permit the financing of priority programmes for basic development." It also had to set up, "for its own survival, collective management of the environment that is more responsible than it has been in the past, that is fairer and truly universal". At a time when the international community "thought it had seen the last of the great human tragedies which have long darkened many regions of the world, now societies of old civilizations have been drawn into the whirlwind of fratricidal conflicts".

MAURITANIA

Mohamed Abderrahmane Ould Moine, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said it was "no longer acceptable that islands of wealth should persist in an ocean of poverty". International problems could not be solved "in the absence of sincere and effective cooperation between all peoples". The UN was at "an important crossroads". It must "regain its prestige . . . to rise to the many challenges posed by the international changes on the horizon". The economies of developing countries were continuously deteriorating. "Unless something is done to combat this situation, it will become impossible to build a world where stability reigns."

MAURITIUS

Paul Raymond Bérenger, Minister for External Affairs, said the "upsurge of racism and xenophobia in certain countries of the West" was a matter of great concern to Mauritius, which considered "the discrimination in the treatment of migrant workers and foreign students in those countries a human rights violation". It was "a matter of deep regret that some countries that have come to the fore as champions of human rights should themselves be found wanting on that level. Let them put their human rights house in order first before decrying and acting on violations beyond their frontiers." He deplored the fact that "some private companies based in Europe are shamefully exploiting the situations of disarray and complete chaos prevailing in Somalia to dump toxic waste on its territory".

MOROCCO

Abdellatif Filali, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said that with regard to the question of the "so-called Western Sahara", Morocco had continued to adhere firmly to the settlement plan. It continued to extend full cooperation to the establishment of mechanisms envisaged in that plan and the implementation of the rules agreed upon with a view to organizing the referendum as soon as possible. The emergence of the Arab Maghreb was inevitable, and its establishment on sound and solid foundations was more than necessary and beneficial to the countries of that region, the Mediterranean and the entire world. Africa "has been forgotten and marginalized, regardless of its deepening economic crisis, the aggravation of its foreign debt problems and the collapsing prices of its export raw materials".

THE NATIONS SPEAK

MOZAMBIQUE

Foreign Minister Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi said the economic cost of the "horrendous war" in Mozambique, ravaging his country for 16 years, claiming hundreds of thousands of lives and resulting in the destruction of the economic and social infrastructure, had been estimated at $20 billion. There was "no justification whatsoever" for the war's continuation. All political forces should pursue their political objectives through democratically accepted norms of conduct, without resorting to violence. Elections were to take place a year after the signature of the General Peace Agreement, he said. There was a "national political will" to turn those elections into a real success. Mozambique would "appreciate and acknowledge every possible material and financial assistance" from the international community so that the process might be conducted "without major bottlenecks and be truly just, free and fair".

NAMIBIA

Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab, referring to the "outstanding dispute between Namibia and South Africa on Walvis Bay and the offshore islands", said a joint transitional administration of a limited duration would be established over those territories on 1 November 1992. It would be known as the Joint Administrative Authority and headed by two Chief Executives, one Namibian and one South African. In the meantime, the two Governments would keep negotiations going on "the core issue of reintegration", in accordance with Security Council resolution 432 (1978). In South Africa, the UN presence "should be prolonged and the size of its team increased in order to monitor the violence and assist in the transition to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa". For now, he said, the situation remains "explosive and dangerous".

NIGER

Hamidou Hassane Diallo, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said the climate of confidence that had been created by the end of East-West rivalries was a "decisive turning-point in the history of mankind, marked by profound and rapid political and social changes brought about by powerful currents towards freedom, justice, democracy and human rights". That positive development made it imperative for the international community to search for "a new world balance that takes into consideration the aspirations and needs of all of the components of international society". Rival factions in Somalia should cease their hostilities and respect a cease-fire.

NIGERIA

Foreign Minister Major-General Ike Omar S. Nwachukwu said there was a need to increase the number of permanent seats in the Security Council. Africa must not continue to be a region without representation in the Council's permanent membership. Nigeria, the most populous African nation, with the largest economic potential and its proven commitment to the cause of world peace and security, possessed the qualifications to fulfil Africa's aspiration in that regard. The economic recovery and development of African States depended primarily on policies pursued by African Governments. However, the success of such policies rested in part on the fairness of the international economic system and the transfer to African States of adequate resources to enhance their growth-oriented policies. Arms expenditures should be diverted to development programmes.

RWANDA

Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye declared: "Mankind remains torn by bloody conflicts and wars that result from anachronistic situations of colonialism, oppression, racism and ideological intolerance. The seeds of blind violence are multiplying wherever the sovereignty of peoples and the territorial integrity of States are being undermined and wherever the dignity and fundamental rights of man are being trampled upon by totalitarian regimes." The restoration of democracy and political pluralism were "preconditions for the success of the new world political order". The process of democratizing Rwandese political life was viewed as a solution to the war that had been going on in his country since 1 October 1990. "This unjust, fratricidal and costly war has no objective *raison d'être*." Rwanda felt that there could be no military solution to the conflict and was committed to a negotiated solution.

SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

Foreign Minister Albertino Braganca said: "In view of the high level of dependence of the so-called third world countries on the outside world, no development will be possible unless we see a change in the unequal terms of exchange that condemn the gigantic effort of many peoples to the caprices of a free market in which decisions are taken totally without their consent. Powerless victims of the imponderables of the world economy, in which they play but a marginal role, the nations of the third world will never be in a position to meet the development challenge unless fairer and more appropriate mechanisms are introduced in

international economic relations to alter the terms of the involvement of those nations in the process of world exchanges." The human community's hopes for a better world "are reflected in a common desire to create a new world order based on respect for the legitimate rights of peoples . . . and on active solidarity between the rich and poor peoples of our planet".

SENEGAL

President Abdou Diouf, speaking also on behalf of the OAU and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, said: "Here is a continent (Africa) which is rich in minerals and mining resources but in which—paradoxically—most of the poorest countries are to be found." Democracy had made great progress in recent months. Authoritarian regimes had yielded to democratically elected Governments. Everywhere, "confrontation is yielding to joint efforts and bullets to ballots". The solution or prevention of conflicts in Africa would be possible only if arms supplies to belligerents and other forms of outside intervention were halted. He proposed a resumption of the North-South dialogue, and he stated that peace and security were "precarious without the eradication of poverty and misery and without a reduction of the gap separating the North and the South".

SEYCHELLES

Danielle de St. Jorre, Minister for Environment, Economic Planning and Foreign Affairs, said: "Noble ideas, lofty sentiments and good intentions are not enough for the well-being of humankind. . . . Today, the world is again experiencing upheavals and disruption. We are seeing States imploding. Peoples are plagued by hunger destitution and poverty. We are powerless witnesses to this grim spectacle, whereas we should be the artisans of change." While the rich nations, with about 15 per cent of the world's population, controlled more than 80 per cent of the world's income, more than half of humankind lived in low income countries and some 3 billion people possessed only 5 per cent of the total income. There were increasing tensions between the industrialized North, "certain that it is in the right", and the South, "which gets poorer all the time, plagued by contradiction and seeking, sometimes clumsily, fresh sources of relief".

SIERRA LEONE

Captain Valentine E.M. Strasser, Chairman of the National Provisional Ruling Council said: "Each year it has been reported that the countries of sub-Saharan Africa struggle to pay about one third of the interest due on their debt of $150 billion; the rest is added to the rising mountain of debt under which the hope of the continent lies buried." Effective measures should be taken to address the unbearable burden of the African debt problem. For many developing countries, negative growth had become an all-too-familiar feature of economic performance, with three-digit inflation among its worst features. That was not a situation that could be sustained indefinitely. "The greater the stresses many of our countries are called upon to bear, the less likely it becomes for the world economy to assume its own steady growth." The New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s should "arrest and reverse the downward trend" in Africa.

SUDAN

Foreign Minister Ali Ahmed Sahloul said his country expected to reach a final solution with the rebel movement to the problem of the south by the end of 1992. He warned: "Unipolarity has led the world into a new security system controlled by a handful of major Powers in the complete absence of active participation on the part of the rest of the international community." Developing countries were "being subjected . . . to the practices of the so-called new international legality, which means, *inter alia*, interference and intervention in the internal affairs of those States and pursuance of the policies of *diktat* which deprive them of the right of making their own decisions". Developing countries should have "an effective role in the formulation and setting up of a new world order". The new world order "should not violate the sovereignty, territorial integrity or independence of States, nor deprive them of their right to make their own decisions". The type of preventive diplomacy that is accompanied by use of military force "must not be used against the smaller States alone".

SWAZILAND

Prime Minister Obed Mfanyana Dlamini said: "The United Nations remains the only truly global forum in which the world's problems can be discussed and from which the collective experience and expertise of all our Member nations can be pooled to find solutions." Swaziland welcomed the UN's initiative in dispatching a team of observers to South Africa to assess the violence in the townships. He urged all political leaders in South Africa to return to the negotiating table in a spirit of compromise and conciliation. Africa was "disturbed to see much-needed developmental funds being diverted to other targets". Swaziland and others in the subregion were still in desperate need of continuing assistance in many areas in order "to be self-sufficient in the future".

THE NATIONS SPEAK

TOGO

Ouattara Fambare Natchaba, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Transitional Government, said: "In order to safeguard peace in the world we must commit ourselves fully to the idea of a fairer division of the riches of the earth. But we must note, with regret, that the international situation has not changed in this respect." The gap between rich and poor was growing ever wider. The economies of developing countries were "in a state of chronic recession, the most serious in several decades". That situation would continue unless efforts were made to establish a new world economic order based on fairness and "a more generous humanistic vision of international cooperation".

TUNISIA

Foreign Minister Habib Ben Yahia hoped that a peaceful solution would be found to the crisis between Libya and certain Western countries within the framework of international legality, particularly since Libya had accepted Security Council resolution 731 (1992). "The desired new world order must be forged . . . through a process of peaceful and lasting settling of conflicts and resolving disputes by dialogue and negotiation with a view to establishing peace and security in the world." He called on Israel to end its policy of settlement as it posed "a major obstacle to the achievement of peace in the region". In Somalia, he urged the parties to the conflict to end the bloodshed and hoped that they would try to find "an appropriate solution to the crisis, through a balanced approach of dialogue and negotiation". He hoped negotiations would resume in South Africa.

UGANDA

Paul Kawaga Ssemogerere, Second Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said: "We stand at a historic watershed, especially given the fact that the global transition period we are entering is marked by contradictory trends. At this crossroads, however, a unique opportunity exists for the United Nations to achieve the objectives envisaged in the Charter." Underdevelopment and poverty were prime sources of conflict. He said necessary pressure should be maintained to keep Pretoria negotiating in good faith. It was critical to agree on a constitution for South Africa that enjoyed the widest consensus. He called for national reconciliation in Somalia and supported the ECOWAS initiative for a peaceful settlement in Liberia. As for the conflict in southern Sudan, "the path towards a long-term solution lies in dialogue and reconciliation among the parties".

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

Ahmed Hassan Diria, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, said: "The United Nations, and especially the Security Council, must be reformed because it is based on an outmoded concept of international peace and security. The maintenance of peace and security cannot be exclusively focused on traditional peace-keeping or peacemaking, nor can it be left the exclusive domain of the Security Council." He called for the "refashioning of the basic structure underlying the international system so that the emerging new order may be based on right rather than might, on justice rather than expediency". While encouraging Africa to transform its political and economic systems, developed nations had a moral and historical duty to assist the continent in pursuing a sustainable development strategy that was people-oriented.

ZAIRE

Foreign Minister Pierre Lumbi Okongo said developed countries should help countries of the South to solve problems related to underdevelopment. The Final Document of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development should be implemented in order to find the necessary resources to solve "the daunting problems our peoples face". He hoped the international community would support efforts aimed at Africa's economic recovery. As Zaire had vast areas of protected forests, his country would appreciate acceptance by the international community of the idea of "recompensing countries that set aside major forested areas with a view to protecting them from the ravages of humankind". The international community, particularly developed countries, had to make additional resources available for the effective implementation of Agenda 21.

ZIMBABWE

Foreign Minister Nathan M. Shamuyarira stressed the need to "democratize the international system and the empowerment of the voice of third world countries within that system". The economic gap between developed and third world countries had widened. The UN should have "its own dedicated and committed armed units on a permanent basis". The power of veto in the Security Council was an issue which needed rational discussion "in which all States would participate equally and all views would be given a fair hearing". The "much-heralded new world order" should be "a just, humane and enlightened one that will bring an improvement to the quality of life of all of humanity".

Asia and the Pacific

Concrete steps towards new world order

The worsening economic plight of developing countries dominated the agenda of speakers from Asia and the Pacific, while drugs, disarmament, the environment and the situations in the Middle East, Cambodia, Korea and Cyprus were other major concerns.

Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Com of Viet Nam said the rate of economic growth had fallen to its lowest level in many years and warned that "the symptoms of a new financial crisis, which could shake the international monetary system, can be perceived". Foreign Minister Datuk Abdullah Badawi of Malaysia declared: "Nothing short of a major reform and restructuring of the world economy, including the financial system, is required in order to bring about a strong revival and ensure its long-term stability."

President Soeharto of Indonesia.

According to Foreign Minister Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf of Iraq: "All indications point to an exacerbation of the division of the world into North and South, a world without equality, justice or equity between the rich and strong countries of the North and the poor and weak countries of the South."

Widening gap

Drawing attention to the ever-widening gap between developed and developing countries, speakers asked for the establishment of a new, equitable international economic order in place of the present iniquitous one. It was stated that developing countries generally suffered from inadequate access to technology, large-scale unemployment, abject poverty, severe environmental degradation, stagnation or vastly inadequate growth rates, low prices for commodities and raw materials, and severely contracted financial flows.

Economic progress in developing countries would enrich the prosperity of the developed world, speakers said. Non-economic conditionalities, it was emphasized, should not be made in international development assistance. The importance of intensifying South-South cooperation on the basis of collective self-reliance was also stressed.

Secretary of Foreign Affairs Roberto R. Romulo of the Philippines said the time had come to convene a general conference to review the UN Charter. Calls were made for a review of the functions, composition and veto privileges of the Security Council, whose membership, many felt, should be expanded.

Importance was attached to making the General Assembly more effective. Its actions must be governed by a sense of justice, guided by Charter principles, and must reflect the collective will and "not the narrow interests or predilections of a nation or a group of nations". All Assembly resolutions, speakers said, must be implemented.

Agreement was widespread for the creation of a new international order which, according to State Councellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs Qian Qichin of China, should be based on the "universal observance of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence".

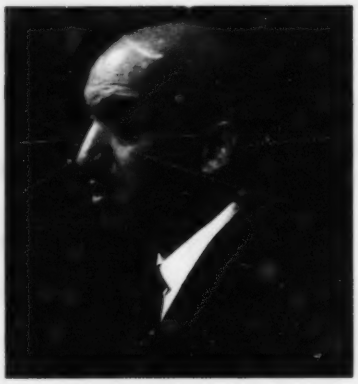
A new world order could come about only through concrete steps agreed by the vast majority of the international community, said Foreign Minister Muhammad Siddique Khan Kanju of Pakistan. The UN was the only forum "where we can concert our actions to construct new arrangements for global peace and prosperity".

In conclusion, Eduardo Faleiro, Minister of State for External Affairs of India, pointed out that "what we need to work for is a new international order free from war, poverty, illiteracy and injustice. In this great endeavour, the United Nations has a central role to play".

THE NATIONS SPEAK

AFGHANISTAN

Deputy Foreign Minister Hamed Karzai said the Islamic Government of Afghanistan, established on 28 April 1992, was preparing the ground for holding free and fair elections as a viable procedure of guaranteeing democracy and social justice. The Islamic State had inherited a country that was "physically devastated, psychologically battered, economically depleted, and politically and socially tormented". The population was in "dire need of moral and material support". The Russian Federation should compensate for the "destruction caused by armed aggression of the former Soviet Union against Afghanistan".



BAHRAIN

Foreign Minister Shaikh Mohamed Bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa described today's world as in a state of flux, emerging from a past that was collapsing under our eyes and "moving towards a future that has not taken shape yet". Rich industrial countries ought to respond to the developing countries' need for development assistance "so that the cold war between the East and West may not be replaced by another cold war between the North and South". Bahrain reiterated the demand for compliance with UN resolutions relating to the situation between Iraq and Kuwait, and was concerned at "recent unfortunate developments in the Gulf area" due to actions by Iran on the island of Abu Mousa. He emphasized the sovereignty and territorial rights of the United Arab Emirates over that island. Israel must forswear its policies of expansion and settlement-building in the occupied territories, and withdraw from the Golan Heights and southern Lebanon.

BANGLADESH

Foreign Minister Mostafizur Rahman said: "The pre-eminent task before us is to forge a new, more focused and action-oriented world agenda to promote peace, tolerance, justice and development. It is of crucial import that this should be time-targeted, prioritized, fully funded and cost-efficient." Human rights, he stated, "become meaningless in the face of the dire constraints of poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy". Peace and stability could not be achieved unless conditions were created to remove the root causes of war and conflict—economic and social deprivation. Sustainable development, he said, "calls for a new global partnership, including the provision of new and additional financial resources to developing countries and adequate access for them to environmentally sound technology". The earth could no longer sustain a high level of exploitation, so those placing a high demand on natural resources must reduce consumption.

BHUTAN

Ugyen Tshering, Permanent Representative to the UN, said there was need for "a new enlightened balance" among the principal organs of the UN. For example, the General Assembly must be provided with more responsibility and the International Court of Justice with more authority. In many ways, he stated, the UN had been the greatest beneficiary of the changes in international affairs. After many years of "blatant disregard and even disrespect by many, and a lack of confidence in its abilities by others", the UN was now increasingly being turned to by the international community. There was greater willingness to work through the Organization. Developing countries must take all measures to ensure that "population and development are balanced in a sustainable manner".

BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

Prince Mohamed Bolkiah, Minister for Foreign Affairs, said his country believed that UN Members were now in a better position than ever before to build a just and lasting peace in the world. The grave social and economic problems faced by numerous developing nations posed a considerable threat to their internal security and, therefore, to international stability. Hence, it was vital that developing and developed countries engage in peace-building together. There was an urgent need to provide the building blocks of international peace today, taking the form of "cooperative international trading relations". Overall, the UN's primary role was not only to solve political crises "but also to help individual nations and regions build their own peace in their own way".

CHINA

Qian Qichen, State Councillor and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said: "The tortuous course that mankind has traversed in this century, particularly since the end of the Second World War, has revealed a historical truth: any Power, however strong it may be, is bound to decline if it goes against the people's will for peace and development." Despite an end to the cold war, the world remained uneasy, with new problems added to the old ones and armed conflicts erupting one after another "as a result of disrupted equilibrium". Hegemonism and power politics continued to exist, he said. "The attempt of some big Powers to control developing countries politically and economically has become more and more obvious." Long-hidden ethnic conflicts had surfaced with a vengeance and the North-South contradictions had further intensified. "The road to peace and development before the people of the world is covered with thorns."

CYPRUS

President George Vassiliou said the Cyprus example was sufficient evidence that an intense peacemaking effort must be pursued in parallel with every peace-keeping operation. "The first victims of galloping nationalism and micronationalism everywhere . . . are the human rights of citizens. We in Cyprus,

unfortunately, have bitter experience of this fact." It would be "tragic further to delay, or even frustrate, the effort for a solution in Cyprus". Turkish and Greek Cypriots wanted "to put the past behind them and advance towards a better future". Calling the 1990s "a decade of dramatic changes", he said "contradictory forces and undercurrents" must be "shaped and guided towards the creation of a peaceful and democratic world order. The United Nations is the soul itself, the consciousness of humanity as a collective entity."

DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Kim Yong Nam, Vice Premier of the Administrative Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs said that today's era "can brook no further delay in establishing a new, just international order to replace the old international order under which a few countries go unchallenged and freely dominate the destiny of humankind. There are big and small countries in the world, but there cannot be senior or junior countries; there are developed and less developed nations, but there cannot be dominating nations and nations destined to be dominated." Optimistic about the prospect of dialogue and reunification between the two Koreas, he believed that "Blood is thicker than water and . . . the homogeneous nationhood of the Korean people" surpassed the differences of the systems and ideas of the North and South.

FIJI

Major-General Sitiveni L. Rabuka, Prime Minister, said Fiji opposed nuclear testing and the dumping of nuclear and other toxic wastes in the South Pacific region. The cessation of those activities was "vital for our very survival and the preservation of our fragile ecosystem". He welcomed France's decision to suspend nuclear testing in the region, the United States' decision to cease operation of its chemical-weapons incineration facility at Johnston Atoll and Japan's decision to cease large-scale driftnet fishing, often described as the "Wall of Death", in South Pacific waters. The Climate Convention should be put into effect as early as possible.

INDIA

Eduardo Faleiro, Minister of State for External Affairs, said "self-determination can apply only to peoples under colonial or alien domination or foreign occupation and not to integral parts of sovereign nations". A most vicious form of human-rights violation was that "unleashed by terrorists", he said, adding that "terrorism assumes a particularly pernicious character when it is aided, abetted and sponsored from abroad". The expansion of the Security Council was essential if it "is to ensure its moral sanction and political effectiveness". The General Assembly also had to be made more effective "to represent not only the changes in its membership, but also the significant character of its universal composition". The efforts of developing countries to improve their socio-economic conditions "remain hamstrung by the inequities of the present international economic order."

INDONESIA

President Soeharto, speaking also on behalf of the 108-member Non-Aligned Movement, said the Security Council should be expanded "to accommodate new members who, if they are not to be given veto powers, should at least serve as permanent members". The manner in which veto powers were exercised should also be subjected to a constructive review. There should be "greater accountability" of the Security Council to the General Assembly on decisions and actions affecting the interests of the entire international community. The role of the Assembly as a forum for deliberation, negotiation and decision-making must be "enhanced". No country "should use its power to dictate its concept of democracy and of human rights or to impose conditions on others". While it might be true that colonialism in its classical form had virtually ended, the process of decolonization would not be finished until economic independence was achieved.

IRAN

Foreign Minister Ali-Akbar Velayati said the Security Council must "fine-tune" its decisions and actions with the principles of the Charter and international law. "Discriminatory treatment of issues pertaining to international peace and security, the overstepping of mandated authority and misuse of the privileges" accorded to Council members—the permanent members in particular—were among practices that "tarnish the Council's image and undermine its stature and credibility". The UN should contribute to the solution of major global problems "without resort to short-sighted political expediency". It was "highly desirable that the new millenium be nuclear-free", but that required the destruction of all nuclear weapons, a new pledge by all states not to acquire nuclear weapons and a "genuine commitment to enhance cooperation in technology for the peaceful use of nuclear energy".

IRAQ

Foreign Minister Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf said that as a result of the "hegemony" being "spearheaded and intensified" by the United States, Security Council resolutions and measures had become "conspicuous for their double standard and selectivity" in applying the Charter's text. The Council's "silence with regard to the criminal acts and operations of military aggression perpetrated in Palestine, Lebanon and other occupied Arab territories by the pampered and American-veto-protected Zionist entity are the most damning proof" that its practices were "devoid of justice and international legality because of the total domination

by the United States over the Council and its procedures". The parties that "waged a destructive war on Iraq in the name of international legality" would like to forget that the suffering of the people of Iraq resulted from their own actions "which constitute the most flagrant violation of human rights witnessed by humanity in all its history".

ISRAEL

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said Israel sought to end its conflict with the Palestinians. "We are looking for a bridge to cross the gulf of bitter memories, painful hatreds and emotion-laden suspicions." The suggested path was an interim government arrangement, as conceived at Camp David. Self-government offered the flexibility of an arrangement that would last no more than five years. Instead of drawing a map of a self-governing territory, he said, "we have suggested a definite timetable", which may lack "the clarity of a map" but it provides "the commitment of a calendar". This proposal, he said, "has the dynamics of a voyage to a new destiny, a bridge that begins at one shore and reaches another". He stated: "I hope that the Palestinians will also perceive the spirit of our intent, which is to extricate ourselves from the position of domination over another people. We have never in our history as a people sought domination over others. We wholeheartedly seek a future where the children of both peoples will escape the agonies of a distorted past and live under a clear sky of security and hope."

JAPAN

Michio Watanabe, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said building a peaceful world would require a five-pronged approach. Efforts must be made to ease international tensions and to forestall the outbreak of conflicts. He proposed a "conflict-information clearing-house" within the UN to collate information on conflicts and present it in an objective manner to the Security Council and to Member States to help them formulate their judgements on the situation. Stronger diplomatic efforts should be made by UN Members to resolve conflicts peacefully. Peace-keeping operations, dialogue and cooperation should be strengthened. The post-cold-war world faced problems "arising from the changing power relationship between the nations that dominated the old international order, the resurgence of regionalism and the destabilization of regions by ethnic, religious and other strife".

JORDAN

Foreign Minister Kamel Abu Jaber said: "Justice, comprehensiveness and durability are the bases on which peace in the Middle East should be established." Israel must apply the Fourth Geneva Convention to the occupied territories, halt completely the building of all settlements and withdraw unconditionally from Lebanon. Jordan wanted action to alleviate the suffering of the Iraqi people and preserve Iraq's territorial integrity as an integral Gulf entity. Iran—which was denying the UAE its sovereign rights over the islands of Abu Mousa, Greater Tunb and Lesser Tunb—should respect the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. Jordan called on States, including Israel, to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and place all their nuclear facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards.

KAZAKHSTAN

President Nursultan Nazarbaev suggested convening a special Assembly session or UN conference to discuss problems of "the post-confrontation era" and proposed setting up a regional centre, or a UN commission, on preventive diplomacy in Central Asia. Work needed to be speeded up on special UN projects to provide a "gradual and effective solution to the problem of furnishing water resources" to Central Asia. He proposed that all countries should set up a fund for UN peace-making efforts on the basis of a "one plus one" formula, meaning that each State would begin to transfer 1 per cent of its defence budget to the fund and would increase its transfers by the same 1 per cent each year.

KUWAIT

Sheikh Salem Sabah Al-Salem Al-Sabah, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said Security Council resolutions must be implemented, noting that there were still Kuwaiti and third-country prisoners "held hostage" in Iraqi jails despite "intensive efforts and international pressures deployed to secure their release". Iraqi "falsehoods also jeopardize" the main objective of the UN's input in providing the technical framework for the Iraq-Kuwait boundary demarcation process. Iraq continued to refuse to accept legal responsibility for plundering private Kuwaiti property and to recognize the need to return all stolen property. It also refused to implement Security Council resolutions on providing essential humanitarian needs for Iraq's civilian population, to pay its dues to the UN compensation fund and to cooperate in fulfilling its obligation to disclose all its stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction and in their elimination.

KYRGYZSTAN

Askar Aitmatov, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that preventive diplomacy and timely reaction should be given top priority in all peace-keeping efforts. Noting his country had become a UN Member "at a time of renewal and reforms", he called for "practical steps aimed at enhancing the effectiveness of this Organization as the key factor in establishing a new world order". He attached great importance to maintaining cooperation within the Commonwealth of Independent States. "Distortions caused

by totalitarianism in the sphere of inter-State and interethnic relations have led to emergence of crisis zones in the vast area stretching from the former Yugoslavia to Central Asia". To prevent and settle conflicts, it was necessary to apply all existing mechanisms of the UN and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Phoun Sipaseuth, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said "numerous civil conflicts, ethnic struggles, religious clashes and border conflicts" continued to disturb many countries, thus seriously threatening international peace, stability and security. In the "changing world in which the new international order is beginning to take shape", that new order should respond equitably to the rights and interests of all countries and peoples without discrimination. It must be based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and those of the Charter. The South-East Asian region was moving towards peace, stability, cooperation and development. Complete compliance with, and implementation of, the Paris Agreements on Cambodia was required to meet the aspirations and interests of the Cambodian people.

LEBANON

Souheil Chammas, Secretary General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, stressed the importance of implementing Security Council resolution 425 (1978), which calls for Israel's complete withdrawal from Lebanon. The Lebanese army, which had been "reorganized and regrouped on a sound and effective basis", had regained its ability to extend State authority over its entire territory. Lebanese authorities were prepared to shoulder their full responsibility with regard to maintaining law and order. With the end of the cold war, dialogue, cooperation and realism had taken the place of confrontation and mutual mistrust. Humanity had an opportunity to build "a better world, based on a collective commitment to peace, interdependence in the face of crises and partnership in working for development and progress".

MALAYSIA

Foreign Minister Datuk Abdullah Badawi said: "The world today has reached a defining moment in history." Since communism's collapse, there had been "an increasing tendency on the part of the victors of the ideological rivalry to dictate their values relating to human rights and democracy to others". A comprehensive and constructive treatment of human rights issues must take into consideration cultural and religious values that influence the national outlook and development of Member States. UN Members had the right to expect "transparency and accountability" in the Security Council's work and actions. A major reform of the Council was overdue: its permanent membership largely had become "untenable and anachronistic" and there was growing concern that the Council had a tendency to select when and where to apply collective measures. "Selectivity or double standards in dealing with potential conflicts would . . . only make a mockery" of the UN.

MALDIVES

Foreign Minister Fathulla Jameel said: "Never has the need for a strong and vibrant United Nations been greater, when we are on the threshold of a new century, a new awakening." A portion of the "so-called peace dividend" could be directed towards UN peace-keeping and peacemaking efforts. "Experience has proven that peace can never be achieved through force or a balance of military strength." Continuing economic deprivation in developing countries posed a greater threat in many ways to mankind's security than did the cold war. Developed countries should direct their attention and resources to the assistance of developing countries in their efforts to become more self-reliant. "It is futile to believe that the world may enjoy peace and progress while two thirds of humanity lives in utter deprivation."

MARSHALL ISLANDS

Foreign Minister Tom D. Kijiner said: A "central feature of the international political landscape of the past several years has been the emergence or the re-emergence of the nationalities . . . . The sovereignty and dignity of indigenous peoples are coming to be recognized as the basis for effective government." He was grateful to the UN for its "steadfast commitment to fostering the self-government and self-determination of peoples". UN agencies had helped provide citizens of the Marshall Islands with security and basic public services. Increasingly, the human spirit "has been able to soar unfettered by restraints and regulations imposed by authorities too distant from individuals' circumstances". The heart of the UN, he said, lay in the rich mix of nationalities. "Our challenge is to find collective benefit in this diversity."

MICRONESIA

Resio S. Moses, Secretary for External Affairs, said: "Since we are a country whose land is comprised of low-lying, small islands, our entire nation finds itself in the front line along with others similarly situated . . . to suffer the devastating consequences of unchecked global warming. Rising sea levels would ultimately cover our islands, but long before that our protective coral reefs would bleach and fall victim to increasing storm surges, our agricultural crops would be ruined and our freshwater sources rendered unfit for human consumption. We are facing nothing less than the end of island civilizations that have endured for thousands of years." Stringent emissions cuts must be "set by the dictates of science rather than of politics" and the Climate Change Convention must be promptly implemented.

THE NATIONS SPEAK

MONGOLIA

President Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat said: "As the wheel of history turns, mankind finds itself on the threshold of the third millenium. The century that started with a fierce struggle waged by the workers movement and saw two brutal world wars, a powerful movement for independence and dramatic scientific and technological breakthroughs is culminating now with a new wave of human rights, freedom and democracy." Mongolia emphasized the need to develop a dialogue on a regular basis among the States of North-East Asia, an area that was home to more than one third of the world's population and which had military and political, trade and economic, ecological and other pressing problems to deal with.

MYANMAR

Foreign Minister U Ohn Gyaw said his country had been subjected to "undue and unwarranted criticism from some quarters" in the realm of human rights. To be truly effective, the UN, he said, must inspire and command the confidence of all Member countries. Its decisions "must reflect that collective will and not the narrow interests or predilections of a nation or a group of nations". It was the time for the global community to make an all-out effort for the revitalization of growth. Developing countries, as commodity-dependent economies, were adversely affected by falling demand for their exports and declining world commodity prices, which were at record low levels and not expected to recover substantially. Those difficulties were "compounded by continuing protectionist trends, moves towards unilateralism, and managed trade".

NEPAL

Mahesh Acharya, Minister of State for Finance, said: "The old global order has passed, but the new order is still very fluid." In an interdependent world, the UN was indispensable for international cooperation. In one year, there had been "upheavals of epic proportion": the break-up of political entities of long standing and brutal ethnic and religious wars. "Narrow nationalism" was threatening the norms of a stable international order. The living conditions of the poor must improve so that they are "not forced to destroy the ecological basis of their children's future to meet the immediate challenges of sheer survival". Global economic and social development constituted the lasting foundation of international peace and security. The UN must create a world "where all people are entitled to political freedom, economic and social justice, a clean environment and full human rights".

OMAN

Yousef Al-Alawi Bin Abdullah, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, said it was high time that efforts of all States in the Gulf region were "devoted to prepare for a new phase of understanding and fraternity". All parties in the Middle East should "exert more efforts and show more patience and flexibility in order to achieve the permanent and lasting peace to which the peoples of the region have long aspired". He urged the international community to support implementation of the Conventions and decisions of the Earth Summit, and said: "The eradication of poverty, the resolution of problems that stand in the way of progress, such as indebtedness and the deterioration of commodity prices, the reversing of the net flow of resources from the South to the North, and the transfer of technology, should all become part and parcel of the policies aimed at the maintenance of peace assigned to the United Nations."

PAKISTAN

Foreign Minister Muhammad Siddique Khan Kanju urged the Secretary-General to persuade India to "desist from the path of violence and suppression" against Kashmiris and to allow them to exercise their right to self-determination as envisaged in Security Council resolutions. He called on the international community to persuade India to enter into a serious dialogue with Pakistan to resolve the Kashmir dispute. Pakistan would continue to extend full moral, diplomatic and political support to that struggle for self-determination. The international community should contribute to Afghanistan's reconstruction and the maintenance of the remaining millions of refugees in Pakistan and Iran. The Security Council's response to aggression had not been uniform. Its decisions would be credible "only if they are perceived to be fair and non-discriminatory".

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Foreign Minister John R. Kaputin continued to support UN involvement in the decolonization of New Caledonia and trusted that the outcome of the forthcoming mid-term review of the implementation of the Matignon Accords would lead to further progress towards safeguarding the legitimate rights of the Kanaks. Papua New Guinea welcomed France's decision to suspend its nuclear-weapon-testing programme. "We seek assurances that the Pacific Ocean will not be used to transport plutonium or other hazardous nuclear, chemical or biological materials which might pollute the seas on which we rely. Promises that every precaution will be taken are simply not enough." Opportunity and participation are the keys to both political and economic development and justice, "including equity between, and within, the northern and southern parts of the globe".

PHILIPPINES

Roberto R. Romulo, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, stated that the Assembly was being held "at a moment in history that has seen the wave of democracy and national freedom sweep the world

with astounding and unprecedented rapidity". The end of super-Power confrontation and the dissolution of empires and blocs had "freed nations and dismantled tyrannies", but "also unleashed age-old hostilities between antagonistic groups and released them to erupt in tragic violence. These conflicts, new and old, have taken various forms and dimensions." Conflicting claims in the South China Sea had given rise to acute concern among countries involved and other States with interests in the area. The world's peoples called on the international community, in particular developed countries, "to lay aside narrow self-interest".

QATAR

Foreign Minister Hamad Bin Jassem Bin Jabr Al-Thani said a new world order "should not inherit the negative attributes of the old order that led to the creation of blocs, conflicts and polarization with all the attendant evils of underdevelopment, poverty, backwardness, hunger, ignorance and disease". All States must share, on an equal footing, in the formulation of a new order "so that it may become an equitable world order that truly represents the joint will of the international community". Israel and all other Middle Eastern States should comply with the new convention prohibiting chemical weapons, with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and with the regime of international inspection. Failure by any State in the region to comply with those agreements "would render the whole endeavour void of seriousness and effectiveness".

REPUBLIC OF KOREA

President Roh Tae Woo said diplomatic relations between his country and China were expected to contribute to reduced tensions on the Korean peninsula and to peacemaking efforts in North-East Asia. The region had "thus begun the march towards a new era of lasting peace and common prosperity". A unified Korea would serve as "a fountainhead of peace and prosperity" for the region. Mutual nuclear inspections were the most serious obstacle on the path towards further progress in inter-Korean relations. North Korea's suspected nuclear development "is casting dark clouds" over the Korean peninsula's future and was becoming "a new factor threatening peace in North-East Asia and the world at large", he stated.

SAUDI ARABIA

Prince Saud Al-Faisal, Minister for Foreign Affairs, said no genuine peace could be achieved in the Middle East unless a permanent, just solution to the Palestinian question was reached and unless Israel withdrew from all the occupied territories and southern Lebanon. The Iraqi regime had "given itself the right, on the basis of sovereignty, to starve and humiliate the Iraqi people and subject Iraq to dangers that threaten its unity and security while it goes on claiming, falsely and slanderously, that it is the international community that is responsible for the dangers that beset Iraq and the miseries of its people". The only means of averting instability in the region and dealing with the suffering of Iraqis lay in ensuring the complete and comprehensive implementation of Security Council resolutions.

SINGAPORE

Foreign Minister Wong Kan Seng said: "We must convince the countries of the North that if they want the South to pay greater heed to their concerns on the global environment, they must in turn push the global economy forward by successfully completing the Uruguay Round [of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] as soon as possible." The transitional economies had experienced great economic difficulties in their initial periods of adjustment. "The North should see that it is in its interest to help these countries by fighting protectionism. With such support, the developing countries should be able to pull off this economic transition successfully." While the cold war "effectively froze or suppressed many tribal, religious, ethnic and cultural divisions", its thawing had led to their re-emergence. It would be tragic for countries of the North to assume that they were "immune from the political and economic travails of the South".

SOLOMON ISLANDS

Sir Baddeley Devesi, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Health and Medical Services, speaking also as the Chairman of the South Pacific Forum, was concerned that the UN climate change convention had "not sufficiently addressed the issue of global warming" and urged early negotiations on protocols to elaborate upon the convention. France's decision to suspend nuclear testing in the area was welcomed, as were positive measures by French authorities in New Caledonia to implement the Matignon Accord. On economic and trade matters, Solomon Islands recognized "the adverse impact which the global macroeconomic trends have on its economy, which is both open to, and susceptible to, external change. We realize that while the initiative to begin economic reforms must come from the country itself, regional and international cooperation in such efforts is also very vital."

SRI LANKA

Stanely Kalpagé, Permanent Representative to the UN, said that for the first time since the Charter was signed 47 years ago, the peoples of the world through their representatives in the Assembly had it in their power to provide new directions for ensuring peace, security, prosperity and social justice in keeping with today's realities. "The challenges are many; equally, the opportunities are great. We owe it to the millions who crave equity and justice and a better life in larger freedom that we shoulder our reponsibilities with courage and perseverance. We cannot afford

to falter or fail. We must succeed." The Secretary-General's report, "An Agenda for Peace", was "innovative and challenging" and its proposals must be considered "with the care and seriousness they deserve".

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

Foreign Minister Farouk Al-Shará said: "Those in Israel who believe that total peace can be achieved without a complete Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied . . . territories are gravely mistaken. Those who also believe that the Israeli arsenal of mass destruction and its qualitative military edge can make it immune to the repercussions of the end of the cold war are equally mistaken." Syria was ready for a complete peace in return for a complete withdrawal from all the occupied territories, "and we reaffirm that now". Syria's challenge to Israel, however, "has found no response to this day". It would be paradoxical, he said, if the twentieth century were to end "with the whimper of small wars that are waged by people with small, primitive minds the international community cannot curb".

TAJIKISTAN

Foreign Minister Khudoberdy Kholiknazarzoda said his country supported the development of "large-scale relations" with all members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). It respected the inviolability of existing borders between CIS members and recognized that political borders in Central Asian republics were not based on ethnic origin. That reality demanded the exercise of much responsibility on all sides. Situated in a region where Islamic culture and spirituality were deeply rooted, he said his country established relations "with countries and Islamic organizations according to our spiritual and cultural requirements. Islam is a holy and divine religion and, in our view, certain Western media have created an inaccurate picture of it."

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Foreign Minister Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi said that his country had been trying to initiate dialogue with Iran to settle outstanding issues between the two countries, "especially the Iranian military occupation of the three Arab islands that belong to the United Arab Emirates, namely Greater Tunb, Lesser Tunb and Abu Mousa". However, Iran had adopted "unlawful measures" aimed at controlling and annexing Abu Mousa island, "thus following in the footsteps of the previous Iranian Government which, in 1971 militarily occupied the two islands belonging to the United Arab Emirates, namely, Greater Tunb and Lesser Tunb". The recent Iranian measures would increase tension and threaten stability and security in the region.

UZBEKISTAN

Foreign Minister Ubaidulla A. Abdurazzakov said the "predominant idea of the new international order should be the prevention of aggression and conflicts and the establishment of democratic machinery for making such an order a reality". In that respect, he stressed the need to create a UN Eastern Centre to extend "the principles of the world community and international norms to the central part of the Eurasian continent". Tashkent, he believed, would be worthy of serving as the seat of the Centre, which would "provide the world community with reliable information on the processes of social development in the region, expedite the solution of its problems and make it a zone free of conflicts". Uzbekistan was deeply concerned about the course of events in Tajikistan, which was "on the brink of civil war".

VANUATU

Prime Minister Maxime Carlot Korman said: "There has been no period in our lifetime when the world has enjoyed greater hope for a lasting international peace than it does now." But "democracy, so cherished and championed within certain national borders, is often less cherished, if not disregarded, when it comes to the interests of the large and powerful countries, on the one hand, and those of the smaller and economically weaker States, on the other". He favoured measures to correct trade imbalances, to reduce the debt burden and to establish fair prices for commodities. People in many places around the world were "suffering—some for a long time now—because of the difficulties of all kinds that they face". In these situations, the international community must "shoulder the major responsibility".

VIET NAM

Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam denounced "the acts of ostracism and persecution against Vietnamese residents in Cambodia" and categorically rejected "the slanderous allegations against Viet Nam by those whose only aim is to cover up their activities which undermine the Paris Agreements [on Cambodia]". Relations of good neighbourliness, mutual trust and understanding were gradually being established in South-East Asia, although latent factors of destabilization remained. "Security can be achieved in South-East Asia only when security is assured for each country in the region, it being understood that such security is multifaceted: military, political and economic." States must cooperate to build "a new, sounder and better world order".

YEMEN

Abdul Aziz Al-Dali, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, urged that "the foundations of democratic dealings in international relations be deepened and that balance and interaction" between the main organs of the UN—the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretariat—be ensured. The international community seemed to have forgotten the Iraqi people "after having imposed on them one of the most cruel and intensive forms of comprehensive economic embargo ever—an embargo that has deprived them of all the requirements of civilian life, including those of children and medical care". He called for the lifting of that embargo. Also, the "segmentation" of Iraq's sovereignty over its territories in the north and the south was "not consonant" with the principle of respect for the sovereignty of States and could lead to the "fragmentation" of Iraq's territorial integrity.

Europe: East and West

Despite instability, future will be more secure, more prosperous

The spread of violent ethnic wars in eastern Europe, such as that in the former Yugoslavia, challenges of the global environment and serious economic crises were concerns that somewhat dimmed last year's hopes for a brighter future as representatives of both eastern and western European nations addressed the forty-seventh General Assembly.

Most speakers linked these unwelcome trends to the collapse of communism and to a world caught unprepared to meet the "offshoots" of violence and catastrophe "sprouting from the exposed rootstock", in the words of Eduard Shevardnadze, Chairman of the Council of State of Georgia, who saw shockwaves "within the mainstream of contemporary geo-political trends: the displacement of a global confrontation onto regional levels".

Since the demise of bipolarism, international society had become "subject to processes of reaggregation" made more laborious and arduous by an array of historical, cultural, ethnic, religious and nationalistic factors, said Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo. "In the East what was once a model of structure has been falling apart, and, in some cases, is being fragmented into a multiplicity of separate entities, each demanding to translate its own history, culture and natural identity into an international personality. In the process, they are resorting to all available means, including conflict and violence."

Douglas Hurd, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, speaking also on behalf of the European Community, said that the world was a "better place" after the cold war, but it was also "less stable". It had seen "both a democratic spring and a demagogic spring, an outpouring of hope but also, in places, an outpouring of hate". The countries of the European community intended to work together for a better world order with "greater impetus and greater effectiveness".

The need for interaction between the UN and the European Community was also stressed. Their co-chairmanship of the London Conference on Yugoslavia, said Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek of the Netherlands, had underlined the potential for coordination between the UN and regional organizations in the field of preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and peace-making.

New 'Berlin walls'

President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia and Herzegovina strongly condemned the "ethnic cleansing" policies of the "Belgrade Government". He likened the conflict in his country to "Berlin Walls sprouting in every American neighbourhood, separating the French, Russian, African-American, Italian, Jewish, Spanish, Japanese, Polish, Korean, Irish and other groups until all had been moved to ethnically pure neighbourhoods and separated by barbed wire, armed guards and checkpoints".

Action on economic and development problems was also urged. Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski of Poland said the social implications of economic reform and structural adjustment had to be "carefully monitored, both in the developing countries and in those in transition".

Echoing the hopes and aspirations of many, President George Bush of the United States believed that a "more secure, more prosperous future" lay ahead. However, he warned, there was a "great temptation for people everywhere to turn inward and to build walls around themselves"—walls against trade, people, ideas and investment, and against "anything at all" that appeared "new and different". But nations could not separate their fate from that of others. "Our peace is so interconnected, our security so intertwined, our prosperity so interdependent, that to turn inward and retreat from the world is to invite disaster and defeat."

Irish Foreign Minister David Andrews.

Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoly M. Zlenko.

THE NATIONS SPEAK

ALBANIA

Aleksander Meksi, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, announced the "remarkable victory scored by the democratic anti-communist forces" in his country in the parliamentary elections of May 1992, which had marked "the beginning of our first epoch of non-communist, democratic governments". Albania had to be integrated into the world economy, thus eradicating the "disastrous consequences of isolation" and overcoming the economic collapse "inherited from many years of totalitarianism". Albania was living under the constant threat and real danger of a spillover of the Yugoslav conflict.

ARMENIA

President Levon Ter-Petrossian said his country was pursuing the policy of "democratization, economic liberalization and the creation of a state of law". Its foreign policy was based on "normalized relations" with all of its neighbours, a negotiated solution to conflicts and the establishment of a "system of regional collective security". His country supported development of international economic and political cooperation and wished to "play a role" in economic cooperation and a "system of collective security" in the Middle East. Armenia had signed bilateral agreements with Georgia and Iran, and begun "serious negotiations with Turkey on normalized relations". With "equal persistence", it was pursuing that policy with respect to Azerbaijan, to which it harboured no territorial claims. The people of Nagorno-Karabakh must, however, "not be relegated to the status of ethnic minority", or be denied self-determination.

AZERBAIJAN

Foreign Minister Tofik Gassymov said that arms shipments were becoming a "real factor capable of producing destructive effects on the situation in the so-called hot spots". Limits could be placed on "exports of arms to a particular country or region" and the establishment of "subregional restraint regimes" could lay the groundwork for the demilitarization of whole regions. With regard to the Armenian national minority in Nagorno-Karabakh, his country had repeatedly stated its "readiness to guarantee that minority's rights in accordance with international norms". There was no alternative to a peaceful settlement to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Decisive steps had to be taken to "clear the obstacles from the road to peace", he stated. One necessary condition for that was the "withdrawal of Armenian armed formations from Azerbaijan".

BELARUS

Foreign Minister Pyotr K. Kravchanka said his country's "point of reference" in the economic sphere was the Commonwealth of Independent States, which would endure, because under present conditions it was a "form of mutual economic survival". For 10 to 15 years, its members, including his country, would "continue to stumble along a bumpy road", but gradually they would move towards a "state of market civilization" which would ultimately enable them to "raise seriously the question of integration into the European Community". Belarus would continue to act in strict conformity with the constitutional principles of a "neutral and non-nuclear State", but it could become "truly neutral" only when Europe was "free of blocs" and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ceased to exist, as the Warsaw Pact had done in the recent past.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

President Alija Izetbegovic said his people were deeply grateful to the UN for its efforts to achieve peace and provide humanitarian assistance. He came from a country "besieged by barbaric aggression". In his "nation—born of ethnic coexistence rather than ethnic cleansing"—Muslims, Croats, Serbs, Jews and others had lived together for centuries and virtually all towns and cities were mixed in population. It was, therefore, not possible to "draw lines through" his Republic to "designate ethnically pure regions". A constitutional commission with inter-ethnic and inter-religious representation should be established to work with a group of international experts to "develop a constitutional settlement to the conflict". Existing UN resolutions should be enforced and the Assembly should "set in motion an international war-crimes tribunal" to investigate, prosecute and punish war criminals.

BULGARIA

Slavi Pashovski, Permanent Representative to the UN, said the "aggressive communist system that had set itself the goal of spreading its colour over the entire planet" no longer existed, but the peoples under its domination had "paid dearly for that experiment". State, economic and social structures were in ruins and the environment had been "degraded". The common denominator of communism's deeds was the "wasting of millions of human lives". Their suffering had demonstrated that "although violence may well create empires, it cannot preserve them". With regard to the former Yugoslavia, his country had adopted a position "aimed at preventing the conflict from spreading and at cooperating with the international community in efforts to find a political solution". A special programme for the economic recovery of the Balkan States—a kind of "Marshall Plan"—was of prime importance.

CROATIA

President Franjo Tudjman said the creation of the Croatian independent State had been the "outcome of the indestructible moral strength" of his people, based on a firm national

awareness that had "burned for centuries as an eternal fire in our hearts". His country had already enacted a constitutional law on the protection of minorities that was "more liberal than many similar pieces of legislation anywhere in the world" and was prepared to contribute actively to the development of an international code for the protection of the rights of ethnic and national minorities. Unless the "sustained aggression" of Serbia and Montenegro was stopped, it might "mushroom into a conflict on a much broader scale which could spread the disaster of war to the entire European continent, maybe even to the rest of the world". The mission of the UN Protection Force in Yugoslavia had to be "seriously speeded up and fully implemented within the mandate of the peace-keeping force".

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Foreign Minister Josef Moravcik said Czechoslovakia was currently preparing to establish "two closely connected sovereign States by creating a common economy space and retaining intact the close contacts between the peoples of the two republics". What was taking place in his country was a "process aimed at the creation of a solid basis for a model of integration" such as had been "developing democratically" in western Europe and had led to the "creation and development of the European Communities". His present statement, he said, was a "farewell speech of the Czechoslovak federation". It was "highly probable" that by January 1993, "one of the founding members" of the UN would "give its place in international politics to the two new independent States". He hoped the community of nations would admit them to UN membership "as soon as possible".

ESTONIA

Foreign Minister Jaan Manitski, referring to Russia's allegations of human rights abuses in his country, said it was "incomprehensible" why "foreign citizens should be allowed to vote in Estonian parliamentary elections" or that "minorities in some countries" should be placed under UN trusteeship. According to UN documents, the term "minority" did not apply to "foreign nationals, migrant workers and colonists". Those people who had settled in his country "as a result of Soviet occupation", however, could apply for Estonian citizenship, if they so desired. The need for withdrawal of Russian armed forces from Estonia was the "primary stumbling block" in their bilateral relations. His country was restoring the "historical, cultural and linguistic ties" to the Nordic countries and had embarked on the "path of economic reform towards a market economy".

GEORGIA

Eduard A. Shevardnadze, Chairman of the Council of State, recalled that in 1990 he had addressed the Assembly as the Soviet Foreign Minister, but now he was representing a country that was "microscopic in comparison" and which had found itself in "deep socio-economic crisis". In Georgia, the "fall of the empire" had been attended by the rise of a dictatorial regime. Several internal conflicts had been provoked and there was a great danger that those conflicts would "merge with the ones in neighbouring States and grow into regional or even continental wars fought along national and religious lines". Of particular importance to Georgia were its relations with Russia, which had assisted in setting up the machinery to settle the Georgian-Ossetian conflict and had "joined in the process of achieving a peaceful settlement" in the conflict in Abkhazia. He proposed the launching of a system of collective security in the Black Sea-Caucasus region.

HUNGARY

Foreign Minister Géza Jeszenszky noted that in large areas of the globe, which had been shown on the map "hitherto only by single-coloured expanses representing federations held together by totalitarian power", he could see a "colourful collection of independent States". His country's neighbours had grown from five to seven. The key issue of stability and security in central and eastern Europe was the recognition of the "endeavours of national minorities to secure adequate forms of self-government".

Attempts to create so-called ethnically pure States had "more than once in history degenerated into massive tragedy, naked aggression and crimes against humanity and against minorities".

LATVIA

Anatolijs Gorbunovs, Chairman of the Supreme Council, said his country wanted to become a "democratic free-market State" and simultaneously find an "optimal solution to two acute and unavoidable problems: the correction of the injustices fostered by the illegal occupation and the protection of the rights of all residents". Foreign troops were still stationed in Latvia and his Government had been "denied the right to monitor these forces". His Government did not imply that "all immigrants must or will leave Latvia", he said. However, there must be "clarity on the very important question of who must leave Latvia": first, former Soviet military forces; second, "all those foreign citizens" to whom the existence of an independent Latvia was "unacceptable"; and third, those who wished to "live among members of a single ethnic group, in Russia or elsewhere". Latvia rejected Russia's accusations that the rights of minorities were being violated.

LITHUANIA

Vytautas Landsbergis, President of the Supreme Council, said the three Baltic States had a "big neighbour", where a variety of political forces were vying for power. Some elements in Russia had "inherited the characteristic mind-set of the old empire" and were

THE NATIONS SPEAK

promoting "aggressive anti-Baltic sentiments". Politicians like President Yeltsin, "who think democratically and have a broader perspective", were called "traitors" who did not defend the "State's imperial interests". The world community should assist Russia economically and "in its search for democracy and justice". The "dead hand of communism should not drag down into its marble mausoleum the entire nation and possibly all mankind".

MOLDOVA

Foreign Minister Nicolae Anton Tiu said the conflict in the eastern parts of Moldova was a "major obstacle" to his country's economic reforms. The "pro-communist imperialistic forces"—the military-industrial complex and the "higher echelons of the former Soviet army"—had unleashed a "full-fledged war" against Moldova's territorial integrity in order to "separate its districts situated on the left bank of the Dniester". The conflict could be resolved at the regional level, with active UN participation. Despite a July 1992 agreement signed by Moldova and Russia, the situation was "still tense", as the "imperialistic separatist and pro-communist" forces were continuing to consolidate their positions so that the "dismemberment of the trans-Dniester territories" of Moldova had "now become a *fait accompli*".

POLAND

Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said Poland stood ready to "contribute to the development of international centres for preparing peace-keeping forces" and proposed to make available to the UN a military base in Poland vacated by the Russian armed forces. Global inequality—the widening gap between North and South, as well as the disparity in access to markets—had to be alleviated "not only for economic, but also for security, humanitarian and ethical reasons". Ecologically sustainable development, with democracy and the market economy "at its core", should be the "focal point and the principal goal" of the UN system. In the case of countries in transition, their long-awaited prosperity was "lagging behind, not coming hand in hand with freedom". The West needed a "coherent approach" to the emerging problems of countries in central and eastern Europe.

ROMANIA

Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase said that his country was undergoing a test that had "no historical precedent": simultaneously to "create new political structures and new, workable economic mechanisms". It had already set up a new legislative and institutional framework able to guarantee the rule of law, political pluralism, free and fair elections, transition to a market economy and full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. In order to establish "irreversible anchorage within the Euro-Atlantic space", Romania was negotiating an "association agreement" with the European Community, a "cooperation agreement" with the European Free Trade Association and a "special relationship" with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. His country's "interest in the independence and democratic development" of Moldova, where 65 per cent of the population was Romanian, was "natural".

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozyrev said the "post-confrontational and post-communist" world was not a *pax Sovietica*, a *pax Americana*, a *pax Islamica* or a *pax Christiana*, but rather the "multipolar unity in diversity" that the UN had symbolized from the very outset. Realism left "no room for euphoria"; a "difficult period of transition" was ahead. Totalitarianism had "robbed Russia both of its unique identity and of self-fulfilment in its relations with other nations". Through its self-isolation, the richest country of Eurasia had become the "sick man of Europe and Asia". Today, Russia's policy embraced the following: an "alliance for democracy and a dynamic market economy"; good relations with all neighbouring States; "comprehensive strengthening" of the Commonwealth of Independent States; and "strategic partnership" with Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and all other countries of the former Soviet Union.

SLOVENIA

Milan Kucan, President of the Presidency, wanted creation of UN machinery to "intervene speedily" to help the democratization of international and internal relations and implementation of self-determination, and "thus prevent lapsing into the kind of violence that is now tragically escalating in the Balkans". The growth in UN membership was not the result of "some incomprehensible process of fragmentation"; it was the expression of "democratization of relations within those non-traditional States, which were built not on the principle of national equality and the real common interest of their nations, but on ideologies, on fear of bloc threats".

UKRAINE

Foreign Minister Anatoly Zlenko said the disintegration of the "bankrupt totalitarian system" had opened the way for the "triumph of genuine freedom and democracy in vast areas of Europe and Asia". With independence, Ukraine had opted to become a State possessing no nuclear weapons, thus voluntarily taking on the burden of eliminating hundreds of warheads inherited from the former Soviet Union, a choice with "huge financial implications". It intended to accede soon to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and would place "all its nuclear power plants and fissionable materials" under the International Atomic Energy Agency's supervision. His country actively supported the idea of "making the Black Sea a nuclear-free zone and a zone of peace and cooperation". The imperial system had "completely exhausted" Ukraine's economy.

WESTERN EUROPE & OTHER STATES

AUSTRALIA

Gareth Evans, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, said the "total collapse of the bipolar global structure which had underpinned international relations since 1945" had brought about unprecedented opportunities for cooperation. But the challenges posed by regional conflicts, humanitarian crises and unresolved transnational problems had also "never been greater". Threats to security arose not only from military ambition and the race to acquire armaments, but also from economic and social deprivation, from ignorance of countries about each other, from a failure to address problems that by their nature cross international boundaries. There was an emerging willingness to "accommodate collective intervention in extreme, conscience-shocking cases". A "body of customary precedent" might emerge over time to constitute "its own source of authority for such intervention in the future".

AUSTRIA

Alois Mock, Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, said the Secretary-General's proposals contained in his report "An Agenda for Peace" reflected the need for more effective conflict prevention. Be it in Somalia, the Balkans or elsewhere, "time-lags between the appearance of the first signs of a crisis and resolute decisions for preventive action prove to be costly—in human lives, in destruction of property and in the loss of credibility of the international community". Peace-keeping operations had to "go beyond the mere observation of a cease-fire" and play a major role in conflict prevention. In that regard, he supported the Secretary-General's proposal "envisaging the deployment of observers at the request of only one party to a conflict". His country, one of the "largest troop-contributors over the years", was willing to increase further its contribution to UN peace-keeping and had initiated a training for peace-keeping, peacemaking and conflict-prevention.

BELGIUM

Willy Claes, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that in today's world, two factors had become of key importance: the concept of global interdependence and the "growing emphasis on the close links between population, environment and development". However, a real economic take-off would be possible only if investments followed government efforts. Social aspects of development were of concern "now more than ever", and the 1995 World Conference on Social Development would be an opportunity to give them the high priority they deserved. He welcomed the fact that the link between democracy, human rights and development was "now widely recognized and applied". Despite the gravity of Africa's problems, his country refused to "give in to visions of catastrophe or what a fashionable phrase defines as 'Afro-pessimism'".

CANADA

Barbara McDougall, Secretary of State for External Affairs, believed there were "three fundamental weaknesses" within States that could cause disputes that went "beyond their borders". Primary among those was the absence or abuse of fundamental human rights. "If people had no rights, they had no hope; if they had no hope, eventually they would have no fear", which would lead them to "seek any possible means to restore their rights, even killing and dying in the trying". The second weakness was the absence of a developed system of democratic values and institutions, while the third involved the "inability to make responsible choices in the management of public policy". Canada had served in virtually every UN peace-keeping mission, and for many years it had "maintained a battalion on stand-by" for the UN. Of the 45,000 peace-keeping forces currently serving under the UN flag, "almost 10 per cent" were Canadian.

DENMARK

Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen said that UN peace-keeping operations had to be seen as an "interim offer" to the parties in conflict and should not "be an excuse" for parties not to seek a negotiated settlement of their dispute. The improved international political climate, the breakup of old power blocs and the reductions in military expenditures offered a "unique opportunity to promote social development". The world community had to face its "responsibility to improve" living conditions for "more than 1 billion people living in absolute poverty" and for the "even larger number of people suffering under unemployment and social insecurity". Solutions should be based on "respect for human rights, the rule of law and political institutions that are effective, accountable and enjoy democratic legitimacy". His country will propose Denmark as the venue for a 1995 world summit for social development.

FINLAND

Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen said the Secretary-General's repeated calls for closer cooperation and coordination between the UN and regional organizations were well-founded. At its Helsinki Summit in July 1992, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe had responded constructively—by strengthening its capacity for conflict management and peace-keeping. The Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro was "only the beginning of a long process towards sustainable development", which required a fundamental change in attitudes—a "change in our own life-styles". The future of mankind required sustainable development, management and conservation of "all types of forests everywhere". Finland was ready to negotiate a global forest convention on the basis of the "forest principles" agreed upon at Rio.

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FRANCE

Roland Dumas, Minister of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that "in spite of freedom's victories" which the world had recently witnessed, peace had not always been the "child of liberation". Rivalries between neighbours, ethnic tensions and border disputes fanned discord and fomented insecurity to the point of "provoking the return of war in all its cruelty and savagery". Yugoslavia, Liberia, Somalia—the examples were legion, he said. Universal peace, our absolute principle, was still only an ambition, but it must become our primary mission. To ensure that the paths of freedom become paths to peace everywhere, France proposed three lines of action: the organization of security—peace-keeping operations, collective security and disarmament measures; the affirmation of justice—economic and social development to bring about "greater fairness and equality" among nations and peoples; and solidarity among States.

GERMANY

Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel said that by establishing the European union, the European Community was trying to "seize the chance of the century for the entire continent". Europe's path towards integration had inspired many regional initiatives in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But that process was currently overshadowed by the "return of barbarity to the European house"—something that had been inconceivable only a few years ago. If a change in the Security Council's composition was actually considered, Germany would seek a permanent seat. It favoured the appointment of a High Commissioner for Human Rights and creation of an international crimes tribunal. The pacification of the North "must not lead to the South being armed to the hilt". Developing countries did not need "more tanks and guns but more schools and hospitals". The North and the South had to develop a global partnership to ensure their "mutual survival".

GREECE

Foreign Minister Michael Papaconstantinou said his nation was "now completing a year-long celebration marking 2,500 years since our ancestors first invented a form of government called in Greek *demokratia*"—democracy—destined to become "one of the most outstanding contributions of Greece to the collective heritage of mankind and a cornerstone of world civilization". He hoped that the "current turbulent situation" in some parts of the world would be "only a brief transition", soon replaced by a spirit of international cooperation and solidarity. Greece and Turkey must display the "necessary will and imagination to create a climate of mutual confidence, security and stability" in the Eastern Mediterranean. His country looked forward to "a just, a viable and a functional solution to the Cyprus problem".

ICELAND

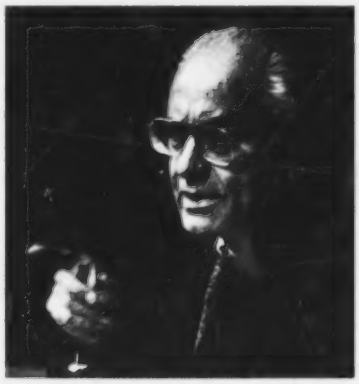
Jón Baldvin Hannibalsson, Minister for Foreign Affairs and External Trade, said that while the "ice cap of the cold war" had melted, national and ethnic rivalries were creating new dangers of regional instability. Iceland was also concerned that the state of the global environment was not improving. Recent disclosures of "massive discharges of radioactive waste and other hazardous materials" into the Barents and Kara Seas from the former Soviet Union could indicate "an ecological time bomb". Those and other dangers had made the Earth appear smaller than ever before and demonstrated the need for stronger commitment to environmental protection, especially prevention of marine pollution and the sustainable use of marine living resources. Therefore, Iceland welcomed the Earth Summit decision to convene an international conference to address the prevention of marine pollution from land-based sources.

IRELAND

Foreign Minister David Andrews said that over the past year, his Government had worked tirelessly for resumption of political dialogue over Northern Ireland. Participants in the present talks "involving the Irish and the British Governments and the constitutional political parties in Northern Ireland" were committed to a "forward-looking and constructive approach". The nationalist and unionist traditions were "equally valid", and each had to be accorded "equal respect and give meaningful political expression in new political arrangements". There was an "insistent desire for peace on the part of the vast majority of the Irish people, in both north and south". Ireland had the highest rate of private development assistance, as a proportion of gross national product, of all countries in the world. It had also long supported UN peace-keeping activities, participating in 10 of the 12 current peace-keeping missions.

ITALY

Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo said that while the spectre of a nuclear holocaust had been banished, the world was "still seeing a proliferation of local wars", and the "most complex, dangerous and tragic of all" was the war raging in the "very heart of Europe", in the former Yugoslavia. With the downfall of communism—the "largest ideological system in our history"—other problems had become more evident, such as hunger, disease, environmental degradation and political instability. Somalia tragically illustrated the "total detachment and lack of concern shown by the affluent societies towards countries plagued by poverty and disease" and it exemplified the "harm caused to people by prolonged power struggles" that were "never resolved". In his view, one of the "most delicate and problematical but also most promising points of contact between North and South" was the Mediterranean.



WESTERN EUROPE & OTHER STATES

LIECHTENSTEIN

Hans Brunhart, Head of Government and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that all States, whether "small or large, whether powerful or powerless", needed the UN. Although not capable of resolving all conflicts, the UN could establish "standards of conduct for the civilized behaviour of nations towards one another". The international community should take steps to make the right to self-determination "more effective" and by doing so contribute to the "avoidance of some future conflicts". It should offer a "realistic way forward", by establishing a "practical framework" through which communities could "give expression to their distinctive qualities". However, indiscriminate independence would lead to the fragmentation of the international community and would insufficiently respect the territorial integrity of States.

LUXEMBOURG

Jacques F. Poos, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, External Trade and Cooperation, said that the solution to the problem of minorities could be based only on the rejection of the idea that frontiers could be changed by force; granting national minorities special status ensuring respect for their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identities; and adopting arrangements for cross-border cooperation to enable minorities to maintain close contact with their compatriots in neighbouring countries. Poor countries had to accept the fact that environmental protection was "not a luxury", and rich countries had to "ask themselves if and to what extent" their means of production and consumption were "compatible with the demands of sustainable development".

MALTA

Prime Minister Edward Fenech Adami stressed that regional cooperation was increasingly seen as a necessary complement to multilateral action at the global level. Malta had proposed that the CSCE be designated as a "regional arrangement under Chapter VIII" of the UN Charter. Malta supported the creation of technology development centres, as envisaged in the Law of the Sea Convention, in the Mediterranean, Caribbean and South Pacific, to encourage transfer of technology and promote co-development of new, locally adapted technology. It took "particular pride in identifying its commitment to multilateralism", especially through its many initiatives on issues related to the environment. Malta's latest initiative—on the protection of climate—resulted in the signing of the Framework Convention on Climate Change by over 150 nations.

NETHERLANDS

Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek said that with the end of the cold war, no change had occurred in the "underlying problems of a long-term nature". The threat to the "very survival of the human race" posed by environmental deterioration, overpopulation and poverty had been "there already", even though awareness of the threat had increased "quite dramatically" in recent years. Establishment of "solid machinery, including a high-level commission on sustainable development", would be a major Assembly achievement. A possible solution to the question of the Security Council's effectiveness might be found in "severing the automatic link between permanent membership of the Council and the right of veto". The draft convention on chemical weapons was a "magnificent achievement". The Netherlands, as host country for the future Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, had a special role to play.

NEW ZEALAND

Prime Minister James Brendan Bolger said today's world was "free from crippling ideological competition". No longer should the people of the world "despair about impotence and inaction" on the part of the UN, which must respond to situations which "threaten the peace or cry out for global action". Certain parts of the world should not be "marginalized or thought less important than others". The tragedy in Somalia was different from, "but equal of horror to", that in the former Yugoslavia. There was an "inextricable link" between security and economic development: a nation felt more secure when its economy was "performing strongly". Sustainable and equitable economic growth and development would be possible only if there was an "open and fair international trading system".

NORWAY

Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland said underlying ethnic, religious, social and economic problems had been "frozen" during the cold war, "suppressed rather than dealt with in a constructive way". Democratic traditions had not been allowed to develop and some leaders had exploited their absence, appealing to narrow ethnic and even clan interests. The end of the cold war had opened a "window of opportunity" for the UN to "live up to the great objectives of its Charter", she said. The world community must "seize that opportunity". There could be no lasting peace in the world as long as a large part of humanity lived in misery and despair. A world order of "burden-sharing, common perceptions and common responsibility" should be established.

PORTUGAL

Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro said his country had presided over the European Community Council of Ministers "during a period of turmoil in recent history" and had sought to promote a "greater opening of the Community to the outside". He appealed to the world body to give the attention, the means and

the resources needed so that Mozambique—former colony of Portugal—might in the near future reach "peace, democracy and long-sought economic progress". His Government had also sought to encourage the dialogue between Europe and Latin America during a "period of noteworthy development and regional integration initiatives". On East Timor, his country's objective was a "just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution, with full respect for the legitimate interests of the East Timorese people, including the right to self-determination".

SAN MARINO

Gabriele Gatti, Secretary of State for Foreign and Political Affairs, said that peace was not a condition that could be imposed; it was a "more complex reality, a permanent state" that had to be felt. On the other hand, the most praiseworthy and indisputable peace initiatives would be useless "until men are educated to a deep-rooted sense of peace". That, in his view, was the future role of the UN, which it should play with determination and authority. The world community had a "common duty to contribute to the removal of war-clouds and bilateral tensions". It had to defend the "right to peace", the main feature of which was "freedom and respect for minorities".

SPAIN

Foreign Minister Javier Solana Madriaga said that recent tremendous changes in the world had brought about a new pattern of international relations. However, after the "initial moments of surprise and euphoria, of perplexity and optimism", there was a need to incorporate those changes to build jointly a "more just and secure international society". The world gap between rich and poor had been "widening in an alarming way". New ways of attaining sustainable development should be found and greater financial resources provided, especially by those countries that were "in a position to do so". Decolonization of Gibraltar was an issue particularly important to Spain, which was determined to continue negotiations with the United Kingdom, bearing in mind that that was "not a case of self-determination", but a situation that affected Spain's territorial integrity.

SWEDEN

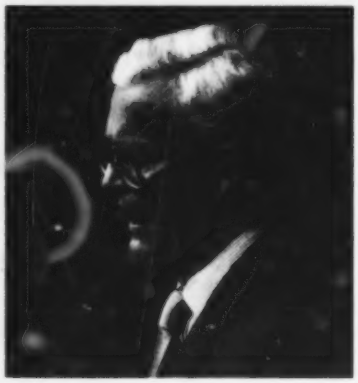
Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas said that the removal of the risk of a nuclear holocaust made other threats to peace and security "stand out all the more clearly", particularly problems of economic development, the environment and ethnic and religious conflicts which had become "severely aggravated in certain areas". The West had to do more than merely open its markets. Industrial democracies had a "responsibility to support economic and social progress in the developing countries by giving generous assistance", which should account for 0.7 per cent of their gross national income. Concerned about "unregulated stationing of former Soviet troops" in the Baltic States, Sweden welcomed the recent agreement between Russia and Lithuania on troop withdrawal and expected that similar agreements would be concluded with Estonia and Latvia as well.

TURKEY

Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin said the "most severe challenge to the new order" had been posed by the Yugoslav crisis. His country shared "historical and cultural bonds" with the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the presence in Turkey of a large number of citizens of Bosnian descent placed it in a special relationship to the fate of that country. Turkey had put forward a set of "concrete and effective measures designed to stop the fighting"; and it would assist in bringing about an end to the "Bosnian tragedy". While Iraq should comply fully with the relevant Security Council resolutions, Turkey would be the "first to welcome a return to normality and the restoration of normal relations between Iraq and its neighbours". The search continued for a "negotiated settlement" of the Cyprus question.

UNITED KINGDOM

Douglas Hurd, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, speaking on behalf of the European Community, said that the legacy of the cold war was a "mixed one", and in facing it the world community had to "be realistic". Solving problems which were rooted "deep in the centuries" was a "slow, frustrating business". International order was threatened in the short term by the "unleashing of extreme nationalism, of challenges to the rule of law". Yugoslavia was the "worst example of the bitterness of nationalism producing intolerable results". Preventive deployment of troops might take place to "deter aggression or conflict between States. But the UN role did not stop "once the conflict is over". Peace-building must also take place.



UNITED STATES

President George Bush said the UN and the world community faced three "critical, interrelated challenges": peace-keeping, weapons proliferation and economic prosperity. The "bloody battles raging in places such as the former Yugoslavia"—where people were pursuing "historical identities" through ethnic violence rather than "democratic nationalism"—highlighted the need for a more preventive multinational response. Shared economic growth was the "long-term foundation for a brighter future well into the next century", and fair and open competition should be the "fuel for the global economic engine". It added up to an ambitious agenda, he acknowledged. "But we live in remarkable times: times when empires collapse, ideologies dissolve and walls crumble; times when change comes so fast that we sometimes forget how far and how fast we have progressed in achieving our hopes for a global community of democratic nations."

Latin America and the Caribbean

Great and unshirkable tasks lie ahead

The nations of Latin America and the Caribbean bid a glad farewell to super-Power confrontation, as well as to many of their own local conflicts, but bemoaned the spectrum of economic and social woes that continued to girdle the globe. "Famine, disease, ecological degradation, the desperate migration of people in search of survival, the inhumanity of poverty, cannot indefinitely be ignored by any creature on planet Earth", said Prime Minister Percival J. Patterson of Jamaica.

The onset of peace in El Salvador, the strengthening of the peace process in Nicaragua, and great efforts towards conciliation in other Central American countries, such as Guatemala, had contributed to eliminating a zone of armed conflict in the region that for long had affected international security.

New fears, however, precluded tranquillity. "Today no one is immune to the conflicts that used to be called peripheral", said El Salvador's President Alfredo Felix Cristiani-Burkard. "No longer is it the power of the super-Powers that is such a threat to mankind's survival; it is the ancient scourge of poverty that continues to erode the foundations of our civilization, whose great and unshirkable task is now to protect the dignity of all human beings without distinction as to race, culture or geographic location."

In the new world order, the UN must earn new credibility, said Bolivian President Jaime Paz Zamora. "The citizens and nations of global democracy are placing unavoidable challenges before our Organization, challenges that require us to adapt its structures, modernize its machinery and identify new priorities."

Many supported convening a World Summit on Social Development in 1995, while virtually all applauded the June 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The spirit of Rio, said Brazilian Foreign Minister Celso Lafer, was that "all countries—large and small, rich and poor—gave proof that they were and are capable of linking their own specific interests with larger, more general interests".

Latin America itself was striving for greater regional cooperation in order "to bequeath to future generations of our countries better conditions for improving democratic institutions, promoting integration and fostering economic and social development", said President Guillermo Endara Galimany of Panama.

Democracy tenuous

However, democracy was still tenuous in many developing countries. "We have the impression that the international community has not yet fully realized what is at stake in some of these countries", said Nicaraguan President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro. "Freedom is still extremely fragile there, and economic and social democracy is a distant dream."

A case in point was Haiti, where a *coup d'état* in September 1991 ended a brief experiment in democracy. Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide called for the UN and the Organization of American States (OAS) to transform "fine-sounding resolutions" into "visible and fruitful action" to restore democracy in his country.

Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Consolidating democracy and ensuring stability throughout the region required an open and united approach to economic relations. In particular, some Latin American and Caribbean nations worried that trade in commodities, such as bananas, was being unfairly restricted by industrialized nations.

Drug control was another high-ranking concern. Calling for an international criminal jurisdiction against drug trafficking, money laundering and the illegal export of precursor chemicals, President César Gaviria Trujillo of Colombia warned that the drug traffickers in his country today would be in sister nations tomorrow. "Today their enterprise is cocaine; tomorrow they will be looking for other new, lucrative products . . . "Today they are making millions from the demand in the United States; tomorrow they will be getting even richer with money from Europe and Japan."

THE NATIONS SPEAK

ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

Lionel Alexander Hurst, Permanent Representative to the UN, said that "for 500 years, from Columbus to Rio, our forests and our oceans, our air and our lands—the earth's gifts to humanity—have been wrongly regarded as inexhaustible and unchanging. If Columbus uncovered our earth's expanse, Rio revealed its limits." His Government was pressing for expanded sanctions to isolate Haiti's military regime and return that country to democracy. If we do not succeed quickly in Haiti, the UN "will risk tarnishing its well-earned reputation for being able to tackle exceedingly complex problems in extremely violent situations in other corners of the globe".

ARGENTINA

Guido Di Tella, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship, said that the UN could not "on its own guarantee the climate of *détente*" and called for each region to create mechanisms of its own. Therefore, Argentina with other American countries supported reforms to the charter of the OAS "with a view to giving it the power to respond politically to breakdowns in democracy in our hemisphere". Domestically, Argentina had also issued regulations on sensitive nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and missile exports. Besides contributing effectively to non-proliferation, the new policy should open Argentina's access to high technology. Another important contribution to stability in the region was the normalization of diplomatic relations between Argentina and the United Kingdom. But "the dispute concerning sovereignty over the Malvinas, Georgia and South Sandwich islands still persists".

BAHAMAS

Orville Alton Turnquest, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said natural disasters worldwide had exacted high tolls of human life, property and natural resources in 1992, but "natural hazards, no matter how great, need not result in natural disasters. We often spend too much time and money recovering from disasters and too little on prevention." Also, "widespread upheavals and conflicts, within States and between States, have been responsible for the mass movement of persons from one country to the other". That phenomenon "not only threatens the security and stability of the affected countries, but also creates competing demands for attention and vital resources". He also decried the problems of drug abuse, production and trafficking, "which continue to haunt the international community with their catastrophic effects".

BARBADOS

Foreign Minister Maurice King, commending the Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Peace" report, suggested that a number of small countries had been "unable to play a part in traditional United Nations peace-keeping simply because they have lacked the logistical military capability for so doing". However, small States could participate in other fields in which they have expertise, such as electoral supervision, human rights monitoring and the supply of police and civilian personnel. He supported establishment of a special UN institute for education and training in peace-keeping activities. "Never before has the power of the few over the destinies of the many been so apparent, and never before has it been so vital to the survival of the majority of small and powerless States that make up the United Nations for that power to be used responsibly."

BELIZE

Said Musa, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Economic Development and Education, said that 500 years ago the "Columbus enterprise" had resulted in "the creation of many dual worlds. And on our planet this tragic dichotomy is writ large in the great divide between North and South." For example, during years of ecological destruction, "countless numbers of plants and animal species have been permanently lost to humanity". He went on: "The double tragedy for us in the South is that even when these acts take place within our jurisdictions we are rarely the authors and hardly ever the beneficiaries of their short-term gains. While we accept the responsibility for conserving our common environment we cannot unilaterally close off options for development to our people when their need is so great." Moreover, "the world community will never succeed in respecting and preserving biodiversity if we do not respect and preserve homodiversity".

BOLIVIA

President Jaime Paz Zamora saw five developments deserving the "keenest attention" of the UN. First, an apparent dichotomy had developed among nations "striving for complementarity through processes of integration" and a paradoxical reaffirmation by the same peoples of "their identity and their essence". Second, there was an urgent need for "an appropriate relationship between the market economy, democracy, and human development". Third, "we live in a single global ecosystem and we are all jointly responsible for its conservation and clean-up". Next, it was "necessary to share technological power more democratically". Finally, information had become the "crossroads of human rights".

LATIN AMERICA & CARIBBEAN

BRAZIL

Foreign Minister Celso Lafer said: "The unprecedented historical crossroads at which we find ourselves calls for a new agenda, an agenda embodying an awareness of the present and a vision of the future." Commending the holding in 1993 of a World Conference on Human Rights, he continued: "One of the most urgent tasks of the United Nations will be to promote in all countries a strong campaign against all forms of discrimination. It is high time we reaffirmed the classic concept of tolerance as an essential constituent element of life in an enlightened society. Equality can be genuine only when there is respect for diversity, where there is respect for heterogeneity." The Earth Summit set new patterns for international cooperation by "reshaping the very notion of development, to conceive it on a more rational, more just and more generous foundation—that of sustainable development".

CHILE

Foreign Minister Enrique Silva Cimma said there was a "moral, political and social imperative of placing the needs of people at the heart of United Nations activities". The international community "must search together for new political directions" and strengthen the role of the Organization to maintain peace and security, defend human rights, protect the environment, combat drug trafficking and terrorism and close the gap between North and South. "We cannot enter a new era of world peace—although it is potentially within our grasp—if we forget the human being", he stated. Chile had proposed the convening of a world summit for social development. "In the final analysis our capacity to lead and the *raison d'être* of the United Nations will be measured by the success we achieve in the field of social development."

COLOMBIA

President César Gaviria Trujillo said his country was "a victim of the uncontrollable appetite for drugs throughout the world". Drug-trafficking was "a hydra-headed monster. It is not enough to cut off just one head or only a few heads. To eradicate this scourge once and for all we need to take decisive, collective action, international and multilateral action, against this evil on all fronts." Colombia would establish an international centre for the fight against drug trafficking and also proposed that the UN define global, regional and country targets for controlling the supply and demand of drugs, including a commitment to at least a 50 per cent reduction by the year 2000 and freeing "humanity forever from the scourge of drugs" by 2010.

COSTA RICA

Bernd Niehaus-Quesada, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship, said the end of the cold war had not "decreased the depth of the abyss between North and South". Oddly, increased protective measures by industrialized nations were "occurring at a time when Latin America has become a continent of democracies and when many African and Asian countries have again taken the road to civil and political liberty". However, "the third world countries must do their part too", he stated. "International cooperation, regardless of its magnitude, will not change the situation of the receiving country if it does not exert a disciplined and determined effort to make progress." Developing countries "must fight harder against bureaucracy and administrative corruption, and must redouble their efforts to ensure that international aid truly fills its objectives".

CUBA

Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcón de Quesada stated that the "deepest root" of the Caribbean peoples was their "rebelliousness". For centuries "the Caribbean was the victim of the brutal greed of all sorts of intruders, the crossroads of slave-traders and pirates, of traffickers and invaders; violence and cruelty were its constant scourges". Today, as in the past, "the idea is to determine whether the future will allow human solidarity to flourish or whether it will still be weighed down by selfishness; whether it will one day lead to the emancipation of the dispossessed, or whether it will forever perpetuate their tragedy; whether we are on the verge of a new colonizing adventure, or whether, at long last, hope will begin to emerge for the poor of this Earth."

DOMINICA

Brian Alleyne, Minister for External Affairs, warned that the collapse of the banana industry in the Windward Islands, which could be the consequence of imposing a tariff on bananas under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), "would immediately and dramatically adversely affect the economic and social conditions of those small island developing States". While UNCED was proof that nations understood the importance of saving the planet, solutions for environmental degradation must protect the interests of both developing and industrialized countries. He charged: "The industrialized countries have gained economic prosperity in disregard of the resultant destruction of the environment." On streamlining UN operations, "we must strengthen, not weaken" their ability to provide assistance to developing countries.

THE NATIONS SPEAK

"The important thing is that whatever is done must render the Organization more effective in promoting peace and development throughout the world. Anything less would merely perpetuate the waste of limited resources."

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Foreign Minister Juan Aristides Taveras Guzman stated that, despite the end to cold-war tensions, "the international community should remain vigilant because, though it is true that the danger of nuclear war has disappeared, it is no less true that another menace is still with us, that of the continued quest on the part of some countries for technology for the production of nuclear weaponry, behind the back of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)". The IAEA should be revitalized to enable it to prevent "the proliferation of those terrible weapons". Furthermore, he said "mankind is still burdened with problems arising out of the so-called conventional weapons, which are becoming more and more destructive". Haiti's "chronic situation of economic penury" had forced Haitians "to emigrate in waves across our borders and by sea in search of a better life", he said.

ECUADOR

President Sixto Durán Ballén said "the old problems of disparity between an economically powerful world, embracing a limited number of countries, and the developing world, comprising the bulk of mankind, continue to worsen". Without help, "poor States cannot free themselves from their condition of impoverishment, and they cannot partake in the enjoyment of a life of dignity, free from the fear of insecurity and poverty." He expressed support for international conferences on the financing of development, on social development and on illicit drugs. "Unresolved economic and social, as well as humanitarian and ecological, problems of overriding importance continue to be a source of instability, and they carry the seeds of damage to international relations and even of conflict."

EL SALVADOR

President Alfredo Félix Cristiani-Burkard stated that peace in El Salvador was "not just a matter of restoring normal conditions—those that prevailed before the conflict—but of establishing peace of a new kind, unprecedented in our country". That peace process stood as "one of the clearest and most persuasive examples" that the UN was fulfilling its responsibilities and "doing so efficiently and opportunely within this new, increasingly interlinked world where there is a growing sense of globalism". Therefore the "triumph is not ours; it belongs to the peoples of the world who have already suffered too much not to see, and soon, the fruits of progress, which are the only guarantees of internal stability and peace among nations".

GRENADA

Eugene Pursoo, Permanent Representative to the UN, declared that small countries, in particular small developing island countries, "can hardly compete in the world arena with developed countries" and he appealed to donor countries for renewed consideration and to the international community in general for the needed concessions "to attain our development goals". A number of small island States in the Caribbean, highly dependent on the banana industry, "are faced with an uncaring call by certain countries" to have bananas placed within the framework of GATT, which could "wipe out the banana industry in our islands". At the end of the International Decade of Disabled Persons, we had to acknowledge that "too little has been done to enable disabled persons to see themselves as equal citizens".

GUATEMALA

Foreign Minister Gonzalo Menendez Park said that his country was "involved in a far-reaching and ambitious process of transformation, which we trust will positively change the course of our history". As Central Americans, "Guatemalans are aware that the challenge of our future is entirely in our own hands. The process of democratization, begun some years ago, is the start of a much broader process" aimed at transforming social, economic and cultural structures. "The effort that is needed to generate a process of overall improvement in the standards of living of our people requires that the funds used for armed confrontation be reallocated for social investment." Significant efforts were also being made to create conditions that would permit the return of refugees who had fled the "violence that affected their population groups in the past".

HAITI

President Jean-Bertrand Aristide offered eight "democratic beatitudes for a civilization of peace". First: "Blessed are those who defend democracy", he said, thanking the UN for its condemnation of the coup in his country, where "blood is flowing, corpses are piling up and repression is intensifying". Second: "Blessed are those who promote economic growth, because peace and economic poverty are incompatible". Third: "Blessed are those who heroically say no to getting off scot-free; no to vengeance; yes, to justice"; Fourth: "Blessed are those who reduce arms expenditures and increase expenditures for human development"; Fifth: "Blessed are those who resist political pollution, for they will make the sun of peace shine". Sixth: "Blessed are those who defend the truth". Seventh: "Blessed are they who, regardless of class and race, love one another". The eighth and final beatitude: "Blessed are they who . . . discover the true face of the Haitian people".

LATIN AMERICA & CARIBBEAN

HONDURAS

Foreign Minister Mario Carias Zapata said: "With peace in El Salvador, Central America, under the sign of democracy, is returning to the path of integration and development. Our countries are aware of the countless challenges posed by the insufficiency of our productive infrastructure, poverty and inequalities. But we also know that with dedication and vision, and especially with unity, we shall be able to overcome them." The Tegucigalpa Protocol of 1991 had established a system which would "impart force and impetus" to Central American integration. Honduras hoped that the region's "ever-stronger voice" would be heard and that the region would "participate actively in the new forms of global interdependence that are taking shape on the eve of a new millenium". He urged the use of the International Court of Justice, as Honduras and El Salvador had done in their border dispute.

JAMAICA

Prime Minister Percival J. Patterson said that while the world economy was experiencing a "revolutionary alteration", the gap between the industrialized North and the developing South continued to widen. He called upon the Assembly "to issue a summons to all Member States for a new agenda which provides the basic conditions for human survival everywhere". The trends witnessed over the last decade—a severe fall in commodity prices, reduction of private- and public-sector flows, and mounting debt burden—must be "halted and reversed. In the search for lasting peace we must prevent increasing poverty for a substantial portion of the human race." The Earth Summit had underscored the "interlinkages between security, disarmament, debt, trade, technology, the environment and development". States "were forced to admit that these issues could not be treated in splendid isolation, but required concerted action".

MEXICO

Foreign Secretary Fernando Solana Morales stressed that with the cold war over, there was "no argument strong enough" to justify the persistence of structural imbalances in the world. "Plenty and overabundance for a few cannot coexist with poverty and deprivation for the majorities. We can already see the global impact of these inequalities. The increase in migrations to the more prosperous countries is unprecedented." It would be a "dangerous illusion", he stated, "for the rich societies to believe that their security is not in jeopardy from the intensification of these imbalances". He stated: "We pay too much attention to the so-called new global issues at the expense of development problems, combating extreme poverty and strengthening international cooperation." The best preventive diplomacy was support for development, which was an essential element of stable and lasting peace.

NICARAGUA

President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro saw "an urgent need to forge a consensus on a worldwide commitment to strengthen international cooperation and reactivate economic growth and development". Efforts towards this "continue to be hindered by restricted access to new markets, scarce financial resources, lack of foreign investment, the debt burden, limitations on the transfer of technology and the ongoing inequality in the financial systems and international trade". In addition, "an alarming number of people are still suffering the tragic consequences of armed conflict, and poverty continues to stifle hopes for a better future. Millions of children do not have access to health care or education. Millions of women, who constitute the majority of the world's population, remain oppressed."

PANAMA

President Guillermo Endara Galimany drew attention to the experience of the people of El Salvador, which constituted for the rest of mankind "an example of how to settle disputes by peaceful means". With the signing of the peace agreements in 1992, "an end was put to 12 long, grim years of struggle, bloodshed, grief and suffering for thousands of Salvadorian homes", he said, reiterating Panama's commitment to help the Salvadorians "consolidate peace". His Government also welcomed "the recent conclusion of the century-old border conflict between Honduras and El Salvador". However, in those areas where "wars are unfolding, action must be taken not only to combat the scourge of war but also to fight its causes". Panama supported preventive action by UN peace-keeping forces, in particular preventive diplomacy and other proposals by the Secretary-General. "Our wars must be wars against poverty and illiteracy", he said.

PARAGUAY

Foreign Minister Alexis Frutos Vaesken saw a new order emerging in our universe. "On the one hand, we see the rebirth of old nationalisms. On the other, we see plans for the integration of countries which are seeking, by this means, the right direction for achieving better economic development." The Southern Cone Common Market was a commitment "to share the common destiny of nations". Now that the arms race is over, "it would seem that the most powerful countries are preparing for another war, the economic war". Calling for solutions that would "alleviate the tragedy of the countries suffering the scourge of poverty", he said a summit on social development would be "a suitable opportunity for achieving world planning to promote the development of the poorest countries". International peace and security would be "truly guaranteed only in so far as the underlying causes of conflicts are eliminated". The gap between North and South must be narrowed "to avoid a chain reaction of unsatisfied needs leading to profound crises in developing countries".

THE NATIONS SPEAK

PERU

Ricardo Luna, Permanent Representative to the UN, said the internal crisis in his country had "reached an extreme", resulting from terrorist group activities and a "dire" economic situation. "The Shining Path obsession has not only divided the country, but created antagonisms between the State and society, destroying both, and created instead a totalitarian response to the national crisis", he stated. Recently the movement had established an alliance with Peru's "most powerful and illegitimate transnational force"—drug trafficking. But Peruvian society had reacted. "From apprehension to despair, we move silently to indignation and took the offensive. While it would be overly optimistic to say that we are approaching the light at the end of the tunnel, we can indeed perceive the fresh air of a new era of hope."

ST. KITTS AND NEVIS

Kennedy Simmonds, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, recalled that the 1991 Assembly had met "in an atmosphere of great optimism", at a time when "the world waited with anticipation to reap the benefits of the all-embracing peace dividend". It was "too soon to say that we have failed, but we have certainly not succeeded. Once again, the attention of the international community has been distracted by fierce and despicable atrocities in far-flung theatres of regional conflict." Although aware of the "outstanding efforts" of the Secretary-General to ensure that the UN responded urgently to those crises, he said more had to be done. "We must mobilize the resources, diplomatic and other, of the Member States to bring an end to the fighting and, secondly, we must continue to intensify the relief effort for those in need of the basic necessities of food, shelter and medicines."

ST VINCENT & THE GRENADINES

Herbert George Young, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Tourism, stated that the situation in Haiti remained one of "extreme concern" to his country. The UN, "because of its critical involvement in the Haitian elections and its generic role of guarantor of international human rights", had a "special responsibility to the people of Haiti, who have never had the good fortune to enjoy the basic human rights and freedoms that the international community has agreed are fundamental to human dignity". Expressions of concern should be matched by concrete action. His country was concerned "that the vital economic interests of small States like ours are very marginal as the powerful developed countries of the world move to consolidate their markets in extensive trading blocs". In that regard, the four Windward Islands "will redouble their efforts to ensure that powerful forces working in their own interests do not destroy our economies".

SURINAME

Vice-President Jules Rattankoemar Ajodhia announced that patient negotiations had recently resulted in a signed agreement for national reconciliation and development, bringing an end to a domestic armed struggle that for many years "brought sorrow and mourning to our people". In the 1990s, the economic and social problems of developing countries continue to be manifold", he said. The elimination of hunger and malnutrition, the improvement of health standards and the eradication of illiteracy "should be issues of paramount concern in the coming decades". These aims "can best be achieved by putting into motion a people-centred development process". He supported the convening of a social development summit to deal with those issues.

URUGUAY

Foreign Minister Héctor Gros Espiell said that in this day and age, we had to rethink the question of sovereignty: not so as to weaken its essence, which continued to represent the underpinning of our international Organization, but rather to adapt it to current requirements. Expressing fundamental agreement with the Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Peace", including the need to strengthen peace-keeping operations, he said Uruguay intended "to preach by example". It had increased to "unprecedented levels" its contribution to UN peace-keeping operations, including more than 900 troops in the Cambodian operation and a General commanding the UN contingent in Kashmir. Latin America had become "a continent of peace", resolving territorial disputes by peaceful means, where there were "no morbid outbreaks of xenophobia and racial hatred" and which was "fighting, as never before in its history, to solve the problems of its indigenous peoples and of human rights".

VENEZUELA

Foreign Minister Fernando Ochoa Antich said that, while "the end of communism is already a thing of the past", the "absolute triumph of the West is beginning to be questioned, given the financial and exchange rate problems which the industrialized countries are experiencing, together with their profound social crisis". He suggested that "we might be talking about a post-capitalist era in which the quest for supposedly free competition has turned into a total dehumanization of the economic model, producing a yawning gap between rich and poor in world society. We are facing not the end of history, but rather a great lack of leadership, of confidence and of enthusiasm for the future." Industrialized countries, "deprived of the enemy which used to make them act together", were now experiencing "a substantial weakening of the bonds that used to unite them". The only way to preserve peace was "to find balanced links between the hemispheres".

'From armed peace into a new era . . .'

Ceremony in El Salvador marks formal end to 12-year conflict

Following delays and revisions to the timetable for implementing the 16 January 1992 peace agreement between the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN), a ceremony was held in San Salvador on 15 December to mark the formal end to the 12-year armed conflict in El Salvador. A ceasefire has prevailed in that country since 1 February 1992.

Attending the ceremony in San Salvador on the "momentous occasion", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said that after almost a year without armed combat, the country had crossed the line "from armed peace into a new era".

He indicated that problems with the reintegration of FMLN members into the civil, institutional and political life of El Salvador were being overcome, as were difficulties arising from the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Commission on the Purification of the Armed Forces.

Reunification: not yet

The goal of reunifying Salvadorian society, the Secretary-General continued, was still not within reach. It was quite possible, he stated, that the watershed in the process of reuniting Salvadorian society would come only when the report of the Commission on the Truth—established to investigate serious acts of violence committed during the conflict—became available.

The UN was trying to help ensure that the causes of the conflict did not recur, but the primary responsibility lay with the Salvadorians, he said.

On 30 November, in Security Council resolution 791 (1992), the mandate of the UN Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) was further extended for six months, until 31 May 1993.

Calm and caution needed

In October 1992, the Secretary-General had reported *(S/24688)* that delays had been experienced in implementing several aspects of the peace accords, including the transfer of land to former combatants on both sides, the establishment of a new National Civil Police and demobilization of the FMLN. As of 19 October, only 40 per cent of FMLN combatants had returned to civilian life.

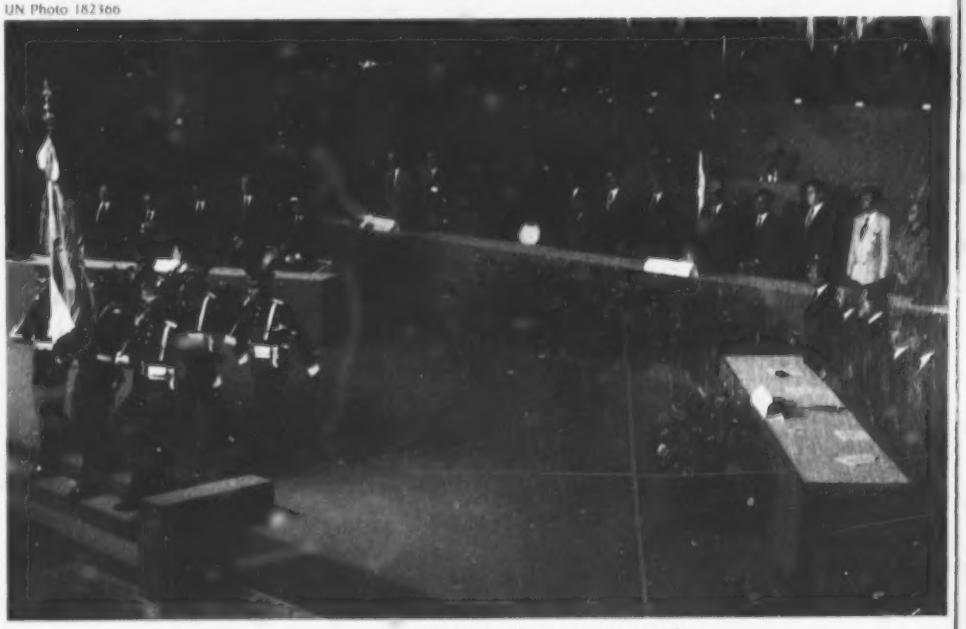
On 23 October, the Secretary-General proposed a set of adjustments to the timetable of the peace agreement, according to which cessation of the armed conflict would be completed on 15 December. He observed that with the peace process entering an especially delicate phase, it would be imperative that both parties act with caution and restraint, until and for an extended period after 15 December, "so that national reconciliation may become a reality".

Unanimously adopting resolution 784 (1992) on 30 October, the Council had further extended ONUSAL's mandate for another month and asked the Secretary-General to make recommendations as to the mandate and strength the Mission would need to verify implementation of the final phases of the peace process.

On 28 October, the Secretary-General noted that the Government had begun the transfer of lands to ex-combatants of the FMLN, and that the FMLN was beginning the demobilization of one third of its remaining combatants.

In an 11 November letter *(S/24805)* to the Security Council President, the Secretary-General reported progress

UN Photo 182366



Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali said the 15 December ceremony was a "momentous occasion".

in implementing the adjusted timetable for the peace process. The FMLN was to provide ONUSAL with a final inventory of weapons and begin their destruction on 1 December.

He added: "Contingent upon my confirmation that these actions have been duly completed, the Government would promptly resume the dissolution of military units as previously agreed."

Call for cooperation

On 30 November, by resolution 791, both parties were called on to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General's Special Representative and ONUSAL in verifying compliance with the peace agreement.

ONUSAL's mandate, originally envisioned as verifying the agreements signed by the El Salvador Government and the FMLN between 4 April 1990 and 16 January 1992, had expanded because of difficulties in executing those accords, the Secretary-General reported on 23 November *(S/24833)*.

Despite the problems, however, implementation of the peace process had advanced steadily. The impeccable observance of the cease-fire and FMLN's engagement in political activities in advance of its full legalization as a party were an impressive demonstration of the will of both parties to consolidate peace. The Secretary-General anticipated that ONUSAL would complete its mission by mid-1994.

> **"ONUSAL is expected to complete its mission by mid-1994"**

The Secretary-General on 1 December confirmed that he had received a letter from Salvadorian President Alfredo Cristiani on the administrative decisions taken to implement the Purification Commission's recommendations.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali informed the Government on 7 December that the detailed inventory of weapons presented the previous week by the FMLN to ONUSAL had been found "satisfactory". That inventory, together with the fact that the destruction of the weapons it had listed had already begun, were important steps towards completing the peace process.

The International Fund for Agricultural Development on 9 December announced plans for the first major UN development project for El Salvador since the end of the country's civil war. The project, aimed at rebuilding the society and promoting peace, would help former government soldiers and guerrillas alike. To be carried out over six years, the $40-million project would help restore agriculture to Chalantenango province, one of the most war-ravaged areas in El Salvador.

Assembly action

The Assembly on 18 December commended the efforts made by Central American countries to achieve peace, through the implementation of the agreement on "Procedures for the establishment of a firm and lasting peace in Central America", signed at Guatemala City on 7 August 1987, as well as of agreements adopted at subsequent summit meetings.

It welcomed the creation of a new Central American security model, based on: coordination, communication and prevention; confidence-building between regional States; and progress made on security, verification, control and limitation of arms and military personnel.

The Assembly also urged "scrupulous implementation" of the commitments set forth in the 1991 Mexico City Agreement between the Government of Guatemala and the Unidad Revolucionaría Nacional Guatemalteca, in order to achieve national reconciliation and a firm and lasting peace and supported efforts by the Nicaraguan Government to consolidate peace.

Caputo goes to Haiti

The Secretary-General on 11 December appointed Dante Caputo of Argentina as his Special Envoy for Haiti. Mr. Caputo, a former President of the General Assembly, met on 20 and 21 December in Port-au-Prince with, among others, the head of the de facto government, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and members of human rights organizations. Before leaving for Haiti, he had met with President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in Washington.

On 22 December, Mr. Caputo reported to the Secretary-General that there had been a positive evaluation of the possibilities of carrying out some effective action to restore democracy to Haiti.

His mission was undertaken within the framework of Assembly resolution 47/20 of 24 November, which asked the Secretary-General to take measures in order to assist, in cooperation with the Organization of American States, in the solution of the Haitian crisis.

In a 3 November report *(A/47/599)*, the Secretary-General cited reports of a pattern of "gross and widespread human rights abuses" one year after the *coup d'etat* in Haiti that overthrew democratically-elected President Aristide. Also, the country's economy was in a state of "free fall", with tens of thousands of jobs having been cut in the industrial and service sectors. Reduction in family purchasing power had caused the food situation, already precarious, to deteriorate further since October 1991.

Status quo 'not acceptable'

Joint meetings held in New York

The Security Council on 25 November reaffirmed its endorsement of the set of ideas, including the territorial adjustments reflected in the 21 August 1992 report *(S/24472)* of Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, as the basis for reaching an overall framework agreement on Cyprus. It also reaffirmed that the present status quo was not acceptable and that an overall agreement in line with the set of ideas should be achieved without further delay.

In unanimously adopting resolution 789 (1992), the 15-member body noted that the joint meetings between the leaders of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, held in New York between 28 October and 11 November, had not achieved "their intended goal"—the completion of work on an overall framework agreement based on the entire set of ideas endorsed by the Council in resolution 774 (1992) of 26 August—"in particular because certain positions adopted by the Turkish Cypriot side were fundamentally at variance with the set of ideas".

The Turkish Cypriot side was called upon to adopt positions consistent with the set of ideas on issues identified by the Secretary-General. All concerned were asked to be prepared in the next round of talks in March 1993 to make decisions that would bring about a speedy agreement. *(For details see* UN Chronicle, *September 1992.)*

The Secretary-General reported *(S/24830)* on 19 November that the joint meetings had demonstrated that differences remained between the positions of each side and the set of ideas. The fundamental differences of the Turkish Cypriot positions fell under three broad headings: the concept of the federation, displaced persons and territorial adjustments.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali said it appeared that there was a "deep crisis of confidence" between the two sides. He supported confidence-building measures to improve prospects for progress.

In resolution 789, the Council recognized that the completion of that process in March 1993 would be greatly facilitated by the implementation by each side of measures designed to promote mutual confidence. All concerned were urged to commit themselves to a number of confidence-building measures. These included:

- As a first step towards the withdrawal of non-Cypriot forces, as envisaged in the set of ideas, the number of foreign troops in the Republic of Cyprus should undergo a significant reduction. Also, a reduction of defence spending should be effected in the Republic.
- Military authorities on each side should cooperate with the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) "in order to extend the unmanning agreement of 1989" to all areas of the UN-controlled buffer zone where the two sides were in close proximity. The area under UNFICYP's control should be extended to include Varosha.
- Each side should take active measures to promote people-to-people contact between the two communities by reducing restrictions on the movement of persons across the buffer zone. Restrictions imposed on foreign visitors crossing that zone should be reduced.
- Each side should propose bi-communal projects for possible financing by lending and donor Governments, as well as international institutions.
- Both sides should commit themselves to the holding of a Cyprus-wide census under UN auspices. Both sides should cooperate to enable the UN to undertake, in relevant locations, feasibility studies concerning the resettlement and rehabilitation of persons who would be affected by the territorial adjustments as part of the overall agreement, and concerning the programme of economic development that would, as part of the overall agreement, benefit those persons who would resettle in the area under Turkish Cypriot administration.

Also, on 14 December, the Security Council extended the mandate of UNFICYP for six months, until 15 June 1993. In unanimously adopting resolution 796 (1992), the Council welcomed the Secretary-General's intention to pursue consultations with troop-contributing Governments about a restructuring of the Force.

UN Photo 127458/Y. Nagata

The Council has urged commitment to measures to build mutual confidence in Cyprus.

Security Council condemns deportation of Palestinians

The deportation to Lebanon on 17 December of some 400 Palestinians from the occupied territories was strongly condemned by the Security Council on 18 December as a contravention of Israel's obligations under the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention.

In unanimously adopting resolution 799 (1992), the Council demanded that Israel, the occupying Power, ensure the "safe and immediate" return of all those deported.

The Secretary-General was asked to dispatch a representative to help resolve the impasse. On 25 December, James Jonah, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, went to the area. On 4 January 1993, after his return, the Secretary-General informed the Council that the impasse continued and a second mission would be sent to the region.

In debate, Council members on 18 December called on all parties to show restraint in their actions and not to undermine the Middle East peace process, which should be given every chance to succeed.

Gad Yaacobi of Israel said his country remained fully committed to the quest for peace and would not withdraw from the peace talks. However, it continued to pursue the "dual goals of peace and war against terrorism".

Khalil Makkawi of Lebanon told the Council that the Israeli action challenged UN authority and further proved that Israel did not want a total and comprehensive settlement.

Nasser Al-Kidwa, observer for Palestine, told the Council that his people could not participate in the peace process while Israel continued its deportation policy.

In a 17 December statement, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had called on the Israeli authorities to rescind the deportation orders, recalling that Council resolution 726 (1992), unanimously adopted on 6 January, specifically requested Israel to refrain from such acts.

Other developments

With respect to the Middle East peace process, the UN has been invited to participate in the multilateral negotiations on regional issues.

On 20 November 1992, the Secretary-General appointed Chinmaya Rajaninath Gharekhan of India as his Special Representative to the talks. He will coordinate the role of the UN in working groups on arms control and regional security, water, environment, economic and regional development, and refugees.

The Council on 25 November renewed until 31 May 1993 the mandate of the UN Disengagement Observer Force, which has been supervising the cease-fire between Israel and Syria on the Golan Heights since 1974. The Council acted by unanimously adopting resolution 790 (1992).

On 15 December, it was announced that Major-General Trond Furuhovde of Norway would become Commander of the UN Interim Force in Lebanon as of 23 February 1993, succeeding Lieutenant-General Lars-Eric Wahlgren of Sweden.

Assembly action

An international conference on the Middle East, under UN auspices, would contribute to the promotion of peace in the region, the General Assembly declared on 11 December. In adopting resolution 47/64 D—one of five texts relating to the question of Palestine *(47/64 A-E)*—the world body also reaffirmed five basic principles for the achievement of peace in the Middle East: Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories; security arrangements for all States; resolving the problem of the Palestinian refugees; dismantling Israeli settlements in the occupied territories; and guaranteeing freedom of access to holy places.

Some delegations, in debate, had expressed the view that the multilateral peace process, begun in Madrid on 30 October 1991, was the sole means of achieving lasting peace.

The Assembly also declared that Israel's decisions to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the occupied Syrian Golan *(47/63 A)*, as well as on Jerusalem *(47/63 B)*, were "illegal and therefore null and void".

AP/Wide World Photo

Some 400 Palestinians, deported by Israel, in south-east Lebanon.

On 14 December, the Assembly approved, on the recommendation of the Special Political Committee, seven resolutions on Israeli practices affecting human rights in the occupied territories and 11 texts on the work of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, among other things extending its mandate until 30 June 1996.

Assembly welcomes deployment of UN observers

The deployment of UN observers in South Africa was commended by the General Assembly on 18 December *(resolution 47/116 A)*, as were other measures taken by the Secretary-General to address the situation there and strengthen the 1991 National Peace Accord. The South African Government was urged to bring an end to ongoing violence, while respecting the right of its people to demonstrate peacefully in public.

The representatives of the people of South Africa were urged to resume "broad-based negotiations on transitional arrangements and basic principles for a process of reaching agreement on a new, democratic and non-racial constitution".

It was noted that "while positive measures have been taken by the South African authorities, including the repeal of key apartheid laws and the revision of major security legislation, important obstacles to achieving a climate conducive to free political activity remain". Only negotiations, initially undertaken by the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, would lead to the peaceful elimination of apartheid.

The Assembly adopted eight texts *(47/81 and 47/116 A to G)*—three without vote—on South Africa and apartheid. It requested all States to respect and enforce the oil and arms embargoes against South Africa. The work of the UN Trust Fund for South Africa to help repeal major apartheid laws was supported and assistance for the non-racial sports movement in the country was urged.

Reaffirming its conviction that apartheid was "a crime against humanity", the Assembly appealed to States to ratify or accede to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

By a recorded vote of 93 to 39, with 23 abstentions, the Assembly deplored the "collaboration of Israel with the South African regime in the military and nuclear fields".

The first members of the UN Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) were deployed in September and, by the end of November, had been posted in all 11 regions of the country. They observed demonstrations and other forms of mass action to determine whether participants' actions were consistent with the established principles and guidelines for marches and political gatherings.

The UN mission was complemented in October and November by observers from the Commonwealth, the European Community and the Organization of African Unity. Coordination sessions were held between leaders of the observer groups at UNOMSA headquarters in Johannesburg and at its regional office in Durban.

Tom Vraalsen of Norway was dispatched on 23 November to South Africa as the Secretary-General's Special Envoy to assess the UN's contribution to the peace process. After a 17-day mission, he reported on 9 December that the increased momentum towards resuming multiparty talks was a "hopeful sign". He noted developments which threatened to disrupt that momentum, stating that all parties in South Africa should "renounce violence and come to the negotiating table".

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali issued a report *(S/25004)* on 22 December taking into account the observations of Mr. Vraalsen, as well as those of former Special Envoy Virendra Dayal.

He expressed "guarded optimism" about prospects for a negotiated settlement in South Africa as "all parties appear to agree, in principle, that multiparty negotiations offer the only way forward to resolving South Africa's political problems". However, agreement had not been reached on the form or desired outcome of a resumed multiparty forum and violence continued to be a feature of daily life in South Africa.

The Secretary-General also stated he intended to increase UNOMSA to a total of 60 observers.

South African President F. W. de Klerk in December announced a timetable on the transitional process in South Africa, envisaging a fully representative government of national unity in place no later than the first half of 1994.

New observer mission to monitor elections in Eritrea

The Assembly on 16 December authorized the establishment of the UN Observer Mission to Verify the Referendum in Eritrea (UNOVER), following repeated requests during the course of a 30-year war for an internationally-supervised referendum to determine the wishes of the Eritrean people regarding their political status in relation to Ethiopia. Under resolution 47/114, the Assembly asked that the observers be deployed as soon as possible to undertake verification duties during the three-stage election process, which includes registration of voters starting in mid-December 1992, the referendum campaign, and polling in April 1993.

The new UN Mission is headed by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Samir Sanbar of Lebanon, with headquarters in Asmara.

AFGHANISTAN

UN team to assess war damage

A UN team of experts has been dispatched to Afghanistan to evaluate "war damage and destruction", and to report on requirements for the country's rehabilitation and reconstruction.

The General Assembly on 18 December, in resolution 47/119, launched a broad appeal to all States, the UN system and other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations for "all possible financial, technical and material assistance" to help restore basic services and to repatriate and resettle refugees and displaced persons.

In addition to ensuring the strengthening of the humanitarian and economic assistance programmes relating to Afghanistan, the Secretary-General was asked to mobilize assistance to that country, including convening a conference of donor States and international financial institutions.

In a 27 November report *(A/47/705-S/24831)*, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali stated that the situation in Afghanistan, a country "subjected to total devastation", had been aggravated by the presence of the "world's largest group of refugees", political instability and "intermittent fighting" between rival Muslim factions.

Afghanistan, one of the world's least developed countries, now faced an "emergency of immense proportions", compounded by the huge numbers of returning refugees—more than 1 million in 1992, he said.

The Secretary-General deplored the poor response to his 5 June appeal for $180 million for emergency humanitarian assistance: only $59.3 million had been received by 30 October.

International efforts should focus on the needs in the humanitarian, economic and social sectors to allow the Afghan people to "consolidate peace with rehabilitation and reconstruction". What the country needed most, Mr. Boutros-Ghali stressed, was "post-conflict peace-building".

Calling on all Afghan leaders and groups to concentrate on a dialogue to resolve their differences peacefully, the Secretary-General pointed to the essential need for establishing a "broadly representative government through peaceful and democratic procedures based on the will and the traditions of the Afghan people". It was time for "understanding, forgiveness and the healing of wounds".

On 9 December, he expressed concern over the renewed outbreak of fighting in Kabul and appealed for an immediate end to those hostilities so as not to interrupt the flow of emergency supplies to the city.

WESTERN SAHARA

Steps towards referendum to be taken

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said on 22 December that he would take "concrete steps" towards the holding of a referendum in Western Sahara at the earliest possible date, notwithstanding the continuing absence of agreement among all concerned on major aspects of the settlement plan for self-determination of the Territory's people.

The plan calls for UN organization and supervision of the referendum, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in which the choice would be independence or integration with Morocco.

In a letter *(S/25008)* to the Security Council President, the Secretary-General stated that a consultative meeting of the Territory's tribal chiefs, which was to have been held in Geneva in early December 1992, could not be held "due to discrepancies regarding the notion of tribal chiefs". He added that "these discrepancies are themselves linked to the persisting divergences" on the criteria for identification of those eligible to vote in the referendum and their interpretation. The Secretary-General's Special Representative for Western Sahara, Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan, had planned to invite 38 tribal chiefs—19 nominated by Morocco and 19 by the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro (POLISARIO).

Mr. Boutros-Ghali pointed out that "long and patient efforts" had been taken over the past several months with a view to reaching agreement among all concerned, particularly on criteria for voter identification and related instructions as set out in a report of 19 December 1991 *(S/23299)*. "With much regret", he had concluded that those efforts had "not achieved the desired results".

He expected that both parties—Morocco and POLISARIO—would fully cooperate with him in pursuance of their commitment to abide by the provisions of the settlement plan. He planned to report in January 1993 to the Council on various steps to be taken to hold the referendum "at the earliest possible date". On 8 October, the Council President had emphasized "the urgency of the pending questions".

On 25 November, the General Assembly urged Morocco and POLISARIO to abide scrupulously by the cease-fire and abstain from any "provocative behaviour" that would endanger the plan.

Building upon disarmament momentum

Assembly commends chemical weapons ban

Reviews nuclear, security items

The first global chemical weapons ban—the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction—was formally approved by the General Assembly on 30 November.

The 24-article text, which will enter into force after ratification by 65 States, was to be opened for signature by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali at a special meeting in Paris in January 1993.

The result of 10 years of negotiations within the Geneva-based Conference on Disarmament, the treaty was commended by the Assembly in its resolution 47/39, which was adopted without a vote.

The new treaty represented the "best compromise possible" to eliminate chemical weapons, Assembly President Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria said after the resolution's adoption. It provided the international community with the "first multilaterally negotiated, global and verifiable disarmament agreement". Together with other disarmament accords, the treaty could "advance efforts towards the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction worldwide", he said.

Adolf Ritter von Wagner of Germany, Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons of the Conference on Disarmament, said the verification provisions in the draft had been the "most difficult to negotiate, since verification measures intrude deeply into the sovereignty of States".

A 'high dose of realism'

In launching the substantive debate in the First Committee (Political and Security) on 12 October, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs Vladimir Petrovsky called on Committee members to approach their work "with a high dose of realism and make action-oriented recommendations". To that end, Member States should take new approaches in dealing with substantive issues.

In addition to the chemical weapons treaty, the Committee's 23-item agenda covered a wide spectrum of disarmament concerns, including nuclear and security issues. A total of 48 texts were recommended for Assembly adoption.

On 9 December, the Assembly acted on the bulk of the texts recommended by the Committee.

In resolution 47/47, all States were urged to seek the "early discontinuance of all nuclear-test explosions for all time". The world body also called upon the Conference on Disarmament to continue efforts towards establishing an international seismic monitoring network for the effective verification of compliance with a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

All parties to the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water were called upon *(47/46)* to contribute to the success of the Treaty's Amendment Conference with the aim of achieving a comprehensive

UN Photo

French President François Mitterrand and Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali were at the signing ceremony.

nuclear-test ban at an early date. Pending the conclusion of such a test-ban treaty, the nuclear-weapon States should suspend all nuclear-test explosions.

Other resolutions: urged an immediate nuclear-arms freeze *(47/53 E)*; noted the decison to set up a preparatory committee to review the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) for the 1995 conference *(47/52 A)*; asked for continued consideration of adequately verified cessation and prohibition of the production of fissionable materials for nuclear weapons and other nuclear explosive devices *(47/52 C)*, and to begin negotiations on an international convention prohibiting the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances *(47/530)*; and reaffirmed the need for an early agreement on effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States that nuclear force would not be used against them *(47/50)*.

Transparency in armaments

Declaring its determination to ensure the effective operation of the Register of Conventional Arms enacted a year ago, the Assembly called upon all States to provide information on their national arms import and export policies, as well as on their legislation and administrative procedures for authorizing arms transfers, and for prevention of illicit transfers *(47/52 L)*.

The Register—to be maintained by the UN—is designed to provide transparency in the import and export of such weaponry as battle tanks, armoured combat vehicles, large calibre artillery, combat aircraft, attack helicopters, warships, missiles and launchers.

Promoting security

Global and regional approaches to disarmament complement each other and should therefore be pursued simultaneously to promote peace and security, stated the Assembly in resolution 47/52 J. It called upon States to "conclude agreements, wherever possible, for nuclear non-proliferation, disarmament and confidence-building measures at regional and subregional levels".

The world body called on States *(47/60 A)* to implement the 1970 Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, and to conclude *(47/52 G)* agreements on arms limitation and confidence-building measures at the regional level.

To achieve the goals of the 1971 Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace and address the "complex ramifications of the issues involved and differing perceptions on these issues", the Assembly requested *(47/59)* the Ad Hoc Commitee on the Indian Ocean to consider new alternative approaches.

States of South Asia were urged *(47/49)* to make all possible efforts to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in their region. The world body also urged *(47/48)* the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East.

Taking action on a new item on its agenda, the Assembly welcomed *(47/61)* the steps taken by several countries towards consolidating the regime of military denuclearization established by the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean (the Treaty of Tlatelolco), including the adoption on 26 August of amendments to that accord. It also welcomed, in particular, France's ratification of Additional Protocol I, which had given full force to the Treaty's additional protocols.

Outer space and scientific achievements

Emphasizing the need for verification measures to prevent an arms race in outer space, the Assembly called upon *(47/51)* all States, in particular those with "major space capabilities", to contribute to the peaceful use of that realm. The Russian Federation and the United States were urged to pursue intensively their bilateral negotiations in a constructive spirit to reach an early agreement on preventing an arms race in outer space.

In a text on scientific and technological developments and their impact on international security *(47/43)*, the Assembly requested the Secretary-General to continue to follow those developments in order to assess emerging new technologies.

In another resolution *(47/44)*, Member States were invited to make disarmament-related technologies

UN Photo 158634/S. Kunhambu

Verification is a key element of disarmament agreements. UN inspectors *(above)* take samples from mustard agent projectiles.

available to interested countries. The Assembly called for widening multilateral dialogue, bearing in mind the proposal to seek universally acceptable guidelines to regulate the international transfer of high technology with military applications.

Antarctica and environmental threats

The Assembly urged *(47/57)* the international community to ensure that all activities in Antarctica were carried out exclusively for the purpose of peaceful scientific investigation for the benefit of all mankind and for the protection of the environment there.

It wanted the Secretary-General to be invited to meetings of the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties.

The Assembly also urged those Parties to establish monitoring and implementation mechanisms to ensure compliance with the Treaty's Protocol on Environmental Protection, and called for the 50-year ban on mining and prospecting in and around Antarctica to be made permanent.

In other action, all States were urged *(47/52 E)* to become party to the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques, and to refrain from any hostile use of those techniques.

The Assembly expressed grave concern *(47/52 D)* regarding any use of nuclear wastes that would constitute radiological warfare and have grave implications for States' national security, as well as the recently reported effort to dump harmful wastes in Somalia. It called upon all Governments to take appropriate measures to prevent the dumping of radioactive or nuclear wastes that would infringe upon the sovereignty of States.

European Space Agency

Environmental remote-sensing satellites represent a peaceful use of outer space.

Other matters

The Assembly stressed *(47/52 F)* the growing importance of the symbiotic relationship between disarmament and development in current international relations and requested the Secretary-General to continue to implement, within available resources, the Programme of Action approved by the 1987 International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development.

Resolutions were also adopted on the following issues: a study on defensive security concepts and policies *(47/52 H)*; prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons *(47/52 B)*; confidence- and security-building measures and conventional disarmament in Europe *(47/52 I)*; and the 1976 Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in South-East Asia *(47/53 B)*.

Three decisions—on the UN regional centres for peace and disarmament, regional conventional disarmament and international arms transfers—were also adopted without a vote.

'New dimensions' of disarmament

"The end of bipolarity has not diminished the need for disarmament", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali told a special meeting on 27 October of the First Committee (Political and Security), in observance of Disarmament Week (24-30 October). "If anything, it has increased it."

Introducing his report—"New dimensions of arms regulation and disarmament in the post-cold-war era"—Mr. Boutros-Ghali said: "We would be abdicating our most basic responsibilities and duties, however, if we did not provide ourselves with the means necessary for the promotion of peace. First on the list of such means is disarmament."

The report *(A/C.1/47/7)* calls for a "new look" at the UN role in disarmament and proposes that the Organization's disarmament work be "integrated, globalized and revitalized".

First, disarmament should be integrated "into the broader world agenda", since it was also becoming "more closely linked to issues of peace and security on the one hand, and socio-economic progress on the other", the Secretary-General said.

Second, he continued, "our vision must extend beyond regional balances of power". The time has come to accept the "globalization of accountability for the consequences of unrestrained military spending".

Third, "past achievements in arms control" should be strengthened, Mr. Boutros-Ghali stressed. The Non-Proliferation Treaty, when reviewed in 1995, "should be indefinitely and unconditionally extended".

Assembly President Stoyan Ganev, addressing the Committee on 27 October, called on the world community to re[illegible]dicate its efforts to "completing the unfinished arms control agenda, together with defining the outline of a new agenda commensurate with the magnitude of the problems at hand".

The Committee also reviewed the changing role of the "triad" of the UN disarmament bodies—the First Committee, the Conference on Disarmament and the Disarmament Commission—and highlighted the increasing role of the Security Council and the Secretary-General himself in disarmament and "peace enforcement" activities.

Report asked on new 'agenda for development'

Market reforms, trade discussed in debate

How best to address the turbulent and changing world economic situation was the thrust of much of the work of the Second Committee (Economic and Financial). Recommended for General Assembly adoption were 50 resolutions and 15 decisions on a wide spectrum of economic and development issues, including a call for work on a new "agenda for development", as proposed by the Secretary-General.

The Assembly, citing the "unique position" of the Organization as a forum for the promotion of international cooperation for development, asked *(resolution 47/181)* for a report in 1993 on ways to enhance the UN role and the relationship between the UN and the Bretton Woods institutions—the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund—in that area.

A new "agenda for development"—an integrated approach to a wide range of issues to be promoted through a stronger UN—was proposed by the Secretary-General in his annual report to the Assembly. To help formulate such a text, the world body requested a detailed list of substantive themes and areas to be addressed.

Among other Committee highlights were action on global conferences on human settlements, population and small island States, food and environment problems, trade and commodities, and the continuing debt crisis.

Support was sought for the goals of the 1990 Declaration on International Economic Cooperation, the International Development Strategy for the Fourth UN Development Decade, and the Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries for the 1990s.

The Assembly, citing "fundamental changes" in countries transforming their economies from centrally-planned to market-oriented ones, called *(47/187)* for a report on the UN's role in addressing problems facing the "economies in transition". While recognizing the need for international development assistance to support this economic reform, the Assembly urged *(47/175)* developed countries and multilateral financial institutions to ensure that such support did not reduce or divert aid from developing countries.

"The full integration of the economies in transition into the world economy should have a positive impact on world trade, economic growth and development, including that of the developing countries", the Assembly stated.

In a report *(A/47/403)* on the impact of the evolution of East-West relations on global growth and development, the Secretary-General concluded that for most developing countries, events in Eastern Europe and in former Soviet republics had not so far had any substantial negative impact, for example, through heightened trade competition or a deflection of foreign direct investment.

The vast majority of developing countries was unlikely to suffer significantly because of transformations in the East, unless an "utter calamity" occurred in these transition economies.

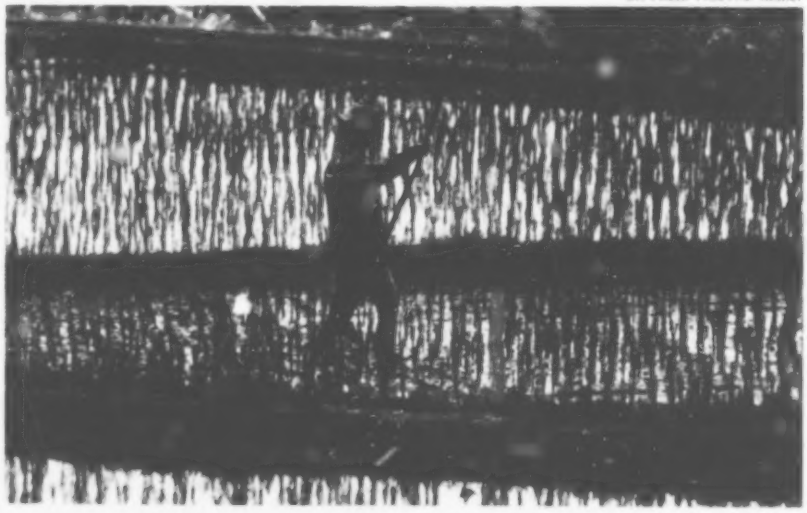
The Assembly also called *(47/171)* for exchange of information and research to help increase economic efficiency, growth and sustainable development through privatization, demonopolization, administrative deregulation of economic activities and other relevant policies.

Poland said, in debate, that the cause of the unprecedented fall in the world output of goods and services was the continued decline of production in the countries in transition, amounting to some 30 per cent over the past two years.

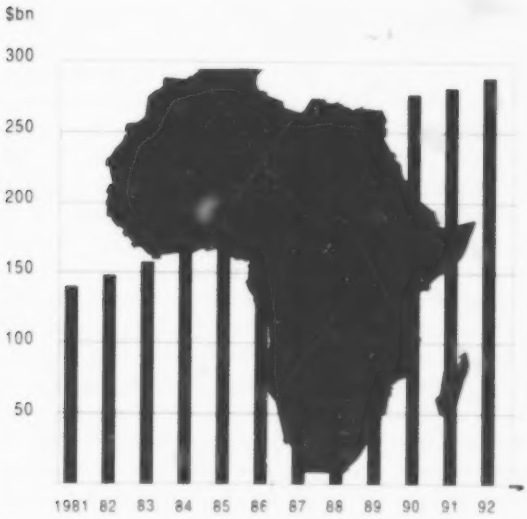
Trade, commodities

Linking market reform and international trade, Pakistan, on behalf of the "Group of 77" developing countries,

UN Photo 156847/S. Rotner



The UN in 1994 will hold a global conference on the sustainable development of small island States.



Africa's debt has steadily increased.

said that developed countries, which constantly urged the developing world to adopt "market-oriented economies", were obstructing third-world products by their tariff and trade barriers.

The Assembly endorsed *(47/183)* the "New Partnership for Development: The Cartegena Commitment", adopted at the eighth session of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD VIII), held in February 1992 in Cartegena de Indias, Colombia.

It welcomed far-reaching institutional reforms approved by UNCTAD VIII and the agreement to refocus substantive work on four areas: a new partnership for development; global interdependence; paths to development; and sustainable development.

The convening of a UN international symposium on trade efficiency in 1994 was endorsed, as well as continuing UNCTAD consultations on an international code of conduct on the transfer of technology *(47/182)*.

Concern was expressed *(47/184)* over the not-yet-concluded Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations. Producers and consumers of individual commodities were urged *(47/185)* to participate actively in international commodity agreements and arrangements that take into account market trends, in order to achieve more efficient international commodity cooperation. Forthcoming UNCTAD consultations on convening a world conference on commodities were noted.

According to the Assembly *(47/178)*, major industrialized countries, which influence world economic growth and the international economic environment, should continue efforts to "narrow imbalances", so that developing countries are better able to alleviate their major problems in the areas of money, finance, resource flows, trade, commodities and external indebtedness.

It suggested ways to reactivate economic growth and sustainable development in developing countries, including: increasing financial flows from developed countries; adopting national measures conducive to capital formation; solving the external debt problem; and seeking greater stability in financial markets.

"After a decade of international debt crisis", the Secretary-General reported *(A/47/396)*, the outlook was finally improving. However, considerable work remained in the international debt policy arena as, for example, there was no formal mechanism to restructure the debt owed to multilateral creditors.

The Assembly welcomed *(47/198)* the conclusion of certain agreements on commercial bank debt and debt-service reduction under the evolving international debt strategy, as well as the write-off of a significant part of the bilateral official debt by certain donors to the least developed countries, and expressed appreciation for recent initiatives of developed countries to address the debt problems of some middle-income African countries.

The world body stressed the need for additional debt-relief measures relating to both official and commercial debts owed by developing countries, and the urgent need to provide a "social safety net" to vulnerable groups most adversely affected by the implementation of economic reform programmes in debtor countries, particularly low-income groups, to ensure social and political stability.

Two texts were adopted on eradication of poverty. By resolution 47/197, the Assembly urged developed countries to augment their aid programmes to reach the UN-set target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product for official development assistance. In resolution 47/196, the world body declared 17 October as International Day for the Eradication of Poverty.

The Assembly also adopted *(47/177)* the programme for the Second Industrial Development Decade for Africa and adjusted the programme period to 1993-2002. It noted efforts in Africa "to establish an environment to attract domestic and foreign investment" and urged an integrated approach to

World conferences acted on

By resolution 47/180, the General Assembly decided to convene the UN Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) from 3 to 14 June 1996 at the highest possible level of participation. The conference, to be held in Turkey, is to review global trends in the development of human settlements and conduct a mid-term review of the implementation of the Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000, among other things.

The Assembly also welcomed *(47/186)* the decision to convene a global conference on the sustainable development of small island developing States in 1994.

Egypt's offer to host in 1994 the International Conference on Population and Development was endorsed *(47/176)*.

implementing the programme. It appealed to the international community to increase significantly its contributions to the African countries' industrial sector.

UN organizations, in particular the UN Industrial Development Organization, were called upon *(47/153)* to take into account in their programmes and activities their commitments to sustainable development, agreed upon at the UN Conference on Environment and Development.

The Assembly stressed *(47/149)* the importance of stimulating food and agricultural production in developing countries, noting the fact that hunger and malnutrition had been increasing in many areas, particularly in Africa, and world food production had fallen in 1991—the first global decline since 1983. To promote fairer trade, a balanced and successful outcome of the Uruguay Round was needed. The report *(A/47/19)* of the World Food Council (WFC) was noted. It estimated the number of the chronically hungry in the developing world at more than 550 million and was growing in most regions at a time when global food supply was under pressure.

Citing the urgent need for a more effective UN response to world food and hunger problems, the Assembly noted with concern *(47/150)* that, despite the WFC's efforts and by its own admission, it had not been able to achieve political leadership and coordination to the extent expected by its founders. The Council was invited to consider its mandate and functions within the context of the overall restructuring of the social and economic activities of the UN system.

The adoption of the Geneva Declaration for Rural Women by the Summit on the Economic Advancement of Rural Women was welcomed *(47/174)*.

In a text *(47/40)* on acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), the Assembly invited the Director-General of the World Health Organization to report biennially, starting in 1993, on progress in implementing the global strategy for the prevention and control of AIDS.

DEVELOPMENT NOTES

Nutrition summit declares poverty is main cause of hunger

A World Declaration and a Plan of Action for Nutrition to eradicate hunger and malnutrition were adopted at the International Conference on Nutrition (5-11 December, Rome), the first global "nutrition summit". Held jointly by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO) and the World Health Organization (WHO), the Conference was attended by more than 1,000 delegates from over 160 countries, including government health and agriculture ministers and experts from non-governmental organizations. The Declaration acknowledges that poverty, not lack of food, was the root cause of hunger and malnutrition: while the world produced more food than it consumed, some 780 million people in the developing world—20 per cent of its population—were chronically undernourished. "Hunger and malnutrition are unacceptable in a world that has both the knowledge and the resources to end this human catastrophe", the Declaration states.

World Declaration on malaria adopted

A World Declaration on the control of malaria was adopted at a Ministerial Conference on Malaria (26-27 October, Amsterdam, the Netherlands), in the presence of 55 ministers of health from malaria-endemic countries. The document calls on member States of WHO to implement malaria control in the context of primary health care. Each year the disease kills over 1 million people and 100 million others fall ill. Malaria is "eroding economies and development by debilitating the active population and by straining the resources of both countries and individuals", said Dr. Hiroshi Nakajima, Director-General of WHO, in his opening address.

Panel addresses African development

A panel of high-level personalities met for the first time in Geneva on 28 December to advise the UN Secretary-General on measures to implement the New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s, which had been adopted by the General Assembly in 1991. In his opening statement, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali called for a fresh approach to the economic development of Africa, which would focus on external debt, regional and subregional integration, and diversification of the economy.

A new definition of rural poverty

The International Fund for Agricultural Development published on 23 November *The State of World Rural Poverty*, which contains a new definition of rural poverty, taking into account food security, income distribution and basic needs. It was praised by the Secretary-General as "an important study, the first of its kind".

Commission on Culture and Development

The UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) on 11 December established the World Commission on Culture and Development to strengthen the links between culture and development and to prepare a world report on the issue. The Commission President is Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, former UN Secretary-General. In addition, UNESCO has added 14 new biosphere reserves to the international network of its Man and the Biosphere Programme, intended to reconcile human activities with conservation. In October, an expert meeting suggested that cultural landscapes—such as gardens, terraced rice fields or vineyards—could be inscribed on the World Heritage List.

Assembly assesses new humanitarian aid system

Noting the increasing number and complexity of humanitarian crises which are demanding ever greater international resources and cooperation, the General Assembly on 22 December asked the Secretary-General to review the effectiveness of the new UN humanitarian assistance system, including the new Department of Humanitarian Affairs, a high-level Emergency Relief Coordinator and a $50-million Central Emergency Revolving Fund created by the world body in 1991.

United Nations

UN Emergency Relief Coordinator Jan Eliasson in the field.

Under resolution 47/168, the Secretary-General was asked to report on arrangements to provide the UN with better access to the emergency relief capacities of the international community, ways to improve UN capability in preventing and preparing for emergencies, and the possibility of establishing warehouses for emergency relief supplies at regional and global levels.

The first seven months of existence of the Department of Humanitarian Affairs—headed by Under-Secretary-General Jan Eliasson, who is also the Emergency Relief Coordinator—has coincided "with an extraordinary increase in civil and ethnic strife, requiring ever increasing humanitarian relief assistance" from the UN, the Secretary-General reported *(A/47/595)*.

Mr. Eliasson has noted that providing emergency relief in situations of natural disaster is difficult enough, but operations become infinitely more complex when a country is ravaged by political conflict, as has been the case in Afghanistan, Iraq, Liberia, Mozambique, Azerbaijan, Somalia, Sudan and the former Yugoslavia.

"Far-reaching changes internationally and within the United Nations are essential if the world wishes to minimize the suffering of populations trapped by civil-war induced starvation" said Mr. Eliasson. "Member States need to decide whether, and then how, the United Nations should be equipped to provide humanitarian relief in situations of large-scale violence."

New department

Since its establishment, the primary tasks of the Department have included: mobilizing international support for emergencies; preparing programmes of humanitarian assistance and consolidated appeals; convening pledging meetings to mobilize resources; establishing national structures for coordination of assistance in response to emergency situations; negotiating agreements with Governments and concerned parties for access by relief organizations; and monitoring implementation of the assistance programme in each emergency situation.

A new feature of UN humanitarian activities is the increased involvement of the Security Council, which regularly accords high priority to ensuring the safe and effective delivery of relief assistance. Indeed, in a milestone resolution adopted in December on Somalia, the Council authorized for the first time ever the use of force to safeguard and ensure delivery of humanitarian relief.

Recognizing the need to strengthen further international responses to growing humanitarian challenges and to promote durable solutions, the Assembly on 16 December called on Governments to provide information and expertise on humanitarian issues to identify opportunities for future action.

Specific requests

Regarding specific requests for assistance, the Assembly: underlined the urgent need for accelerated delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of Somalia and decided to establish a UN scholarship programme for Somali university undergraduate students whose studies have been disrupted by the civil strife; asked for an assessment of needs for the reconstruction and development of war-torn Croatia; urged support for the peace-building process in Mozambique, including assistance for the electoral process, emergency rehabilitation of refugees and displaced persons, and demobilization of armed forces; called for generous contributions, particularly of non-food items, to the relief efforts in Sudan; and asked for continuation of the study and mitigation of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident, taking into account the subsequent social, economic and other changes that have occurred in the countries most affected by the disaster.

Financial, economic, technical and humanitarian assistance was also requested for Afghanistan, Angola, Benin, the Central African Republic, Djibouti, El Salvador, Lebanon, Liberia, Madagascar, Nicaragua, Vanuatu, Yemen, the front-line States in southern Africa and the Palestinian people.

Assembly creates Sustainable Development Commission, endorses 'Agenda 21'

The creation of a new, high-level Commission on Sustainable Development to oversee the implementation of "Agenda 21"—the wide-ranging plan adopted at the UN Conference on Environment and Development—was approved by the General Assembly on 22 December.

Following a four-day debate on the official follow-up to the historic "Earth Summit" held in Rio de Janeiro from 3 to 14 June 1992, the Assembly addressed a number of environment-related recommendations by its Second Committee (Economic and Financial). Among them, it established a negotiating body for a new convention to combat desertification, decided to convene a Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States, and declared 22 March as World Day for Water.

The Assembly asked *(resolution 47/191)* that the Commission on Sustainable Development be set up by the Economic and Social Council to ensure effective follow-up to the Rio Conference, enhance international cooperation and rationalize intergovernmental decision-making for the integration of environment and development issues.

"The challenge after Rio is to maintain the momentum of commitment to sustainable development, to transform it into policies and practice, and to give it effective and coordinated organizational support", said Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 2 November. The UN, he said, "must put its development objectives on a par with its political and security commitments".

When it begins work in New York in May 1993, the 53-member Commission is to consider holding high-level ministerial meetings to provide "political impetus" to the commitments and decisions of the Earth Summit.

"The Commission has the potential to be a very special intergovernmental agency", said Ismail Razali of Malaysia, Chairman of the Working Group on the Conference. It could be "the one forum where we could re-establish a dialogue between the North and the South", he added.

The new body's functions will include: monitoring progress towards the UN target of providing 0.7 per cent of gross national product of industrialized countries for official development assistance; considering, where appropriate, information on the implementation of environmental conventions, including treaties on biodiversity and climate change, opened for signature in Rio; and recommending action to the Assembly, through the Economic and Social Council, and based on the Secretary-General's report, as well as input from competent non-governmental organizations, including the scientific and private sectors.

The Commission is also to actively interact with other UN intergovernmental bodies, regional commissions and development and financial institutions, including the Global Environment Facility—a fund established in 1990 by the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Bank.

A high-level Advisory Board, consisting of eminent persons from all regions of the world, will provide input to

the Commission and the Council through the Secretary-General.

Advancing 'Agenda 21'

In addition to endorsing *(47/190)* Agenda 21, the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, and the Non-legally Binding Authoritative Statement of Principles for a Global Consensus on the Management, Conservation and Sustainable Development of All Types of Forests, the Assembly moved to advance other proposals of the Earth Summit.

By resolution 47/188, it established an Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee to elaborate a new international convention to combat desertification in countries experiencing serious drought and/or desertification, particularly in Africa. The Committee is to meet six times with a view to finalizing the treaty by June 1994.

The Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States is to convene *(47/189)* in Barbados for two weeks in April 1994, in order to adopt measures enabling such States to cope effectively, creatively and sustainably with environmental changes and reduce threats to marine and coastal resources. A Preparatory Committee for that Conference will begin work in April and hold a two-week substantive session at UN Headquarters in August.

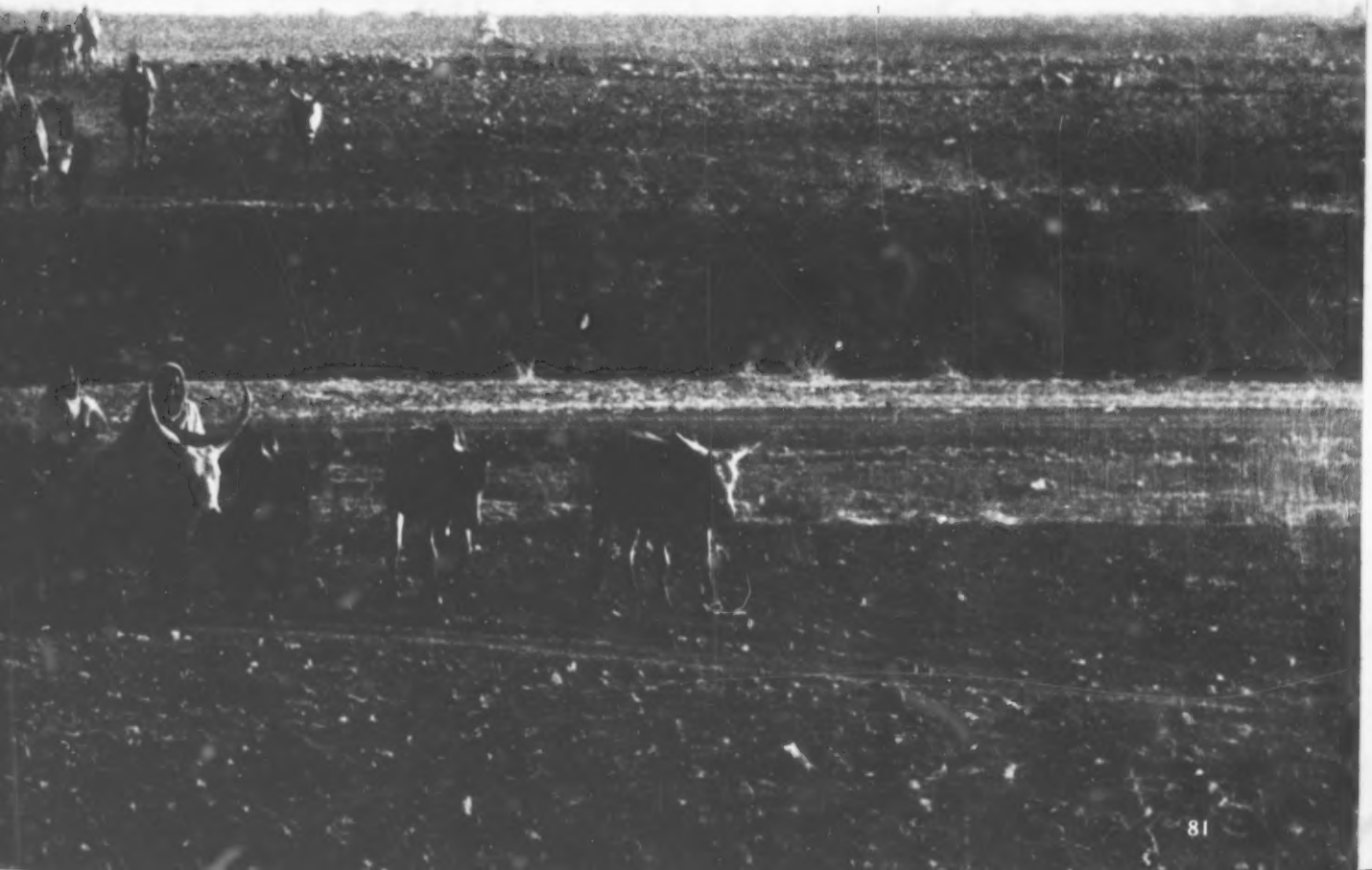
On the basis of other Agenda 21 proposals, the Assembly decided *(47/192)* to hold in 1993 an intergovernmental conference, under UN auspices, on straddling fish stocks (fisheries populations whose ranges lie both within and beyond exclusive economic zones) and highly migratory fish stocks.

States were invited *(47/193)* to observe each year, on 22 March, the World Day for Water, to promote public awareness of the need to conserve and develop water resources and implement related recommendations of Agenda 21.

Furthermore, recommendations on capacity-building were to be implemented *(47/194)* by the UNDP, through concrete action along the lines of "CAPACITY 21", a recently launched initiative to help developing countries institute their own sustainable development programmes. The initiative focuses on human resources training, strengthening key regional and national institutions, such as universities, research centres and government and non-governmental offices, and facilitating the use of environmentally-sound technologies.

The Assembly also welcomed *(44/195)* the adoption on 9 May 1992 and the subsequent signing in Rio by a large number of States of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. The new instrument is considered "a first step in a cooperative response to the common concern for the change in the Earth's climate and its adverse effects".

Regarding the environmental consequences of the 1991 Gulf war, the Assembly also asked *(47/151)* that the capacity of the Regional Organization for the Protection of the Marine Environment be strengthened to deal with the ecological damage to Kuwait and other States in the region.



International Labour Office

The 1995 World Summit for Social Development will aim to put a "safety net under and an opportunity ladder within reach of everyone".

World Summit for Social Development to be held in Denmark in 1995

Social Committee carries broadest agenda, heaviest workload ever

Aiming to foster "a shared worldwide commitment to put the needs of people at the centre of development and of international cooperation", the General Assembly on 16 December decided to convene a World Summit for Social Development—at the level of heads of State or Government—in Copenhagen, Denmark, in early 1995.

By adopting resolution 47/92, sponsored by 122 countries and endorsed by the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural), the Assembly decided that the Summit would primarily address three core issues affecting all societies—the alleviation of poverty, expansion of productive employment and enhancement of social integration.

Societies must "put a safety net under and an opportunity ladder within reach of everyone", said Giorgio Giacomelli, Director-General of the UN Office at Vienna and head of the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs. Thus, he said, social issues, in which progress had been seen "as a by-product of economic progress", were being "brought closer to centre stage".

The Summit promises to be "the most important event in the social field in the years to come", said Third Committee Chairman Florian Krenkel of Austria on 9 December. Juan Somavia, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the preparation of the Summit, said on 20 October that the 1995 event should be as important as the June 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development. After all, he said, "people are no less important than the earth".

In other action emanating from the Third Committee, which in 1992 carried its broadest agenda and heaviest workload ever, the Assembly: approved a provisional agenda for the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights, scheduled for 14 to 25 June in Vienna; launched a Third Decade to Combat Racism (1993-2003); and recommended that a UN observer force be sent to monitor the referendum in Eritrea *(see story, p. 67)*.

Ageing, disabled persons, women, youth, crime and narcotic drugs were

among the major topics covered in the Committee, which convened special expert panel discussions on these issues during the course of 60 meetings.

Summit aims

The World Summit, originally proposed in 1991 by Chile, will aim to: stimulate international cooperation at the bilateral, regional and multilateral levels to assist in implementing nationally appropriate and effective social policies; formulate strategies on goals, priority actions and policies to address core issues of universal concern, in particular the needs of least developed countries; and address the modalities to attain "the necessary balance between economic efficiency and social justice".

Other goals include: identifying common problems of socially marginalized and disadvantaged groups and promoting their integration into society; highlighting the need to mobilize resources for social development at all levels; and making appropriate recommendations for more effective UN action in the social development sphere, particularly measures to revitalize the Commission for Social Development.

UN Photo 182001/M. Grant

Guatemalan activist Rigoberta Menchu, 1992 Nobel Peace Prize winner and Goodwill Ambassador of the International Year of the World's Indigenous People.

A preparatory committee for the Summit will begin work in April 1993 and hold three sessions in 1994. An ad hoc secretariat will assist the committee and a trust fund will be created to help finance participation of least developed countries in the Summit.

Drug control

Deeply concerned that the illicit production, trafficking and abuse of narcotics and psychotropic substances were increasing every day and claiming a growing number of victims, the Assembly decided *(resolution 47/99)* to hold four plenary meetings at a high level in 1993 to examine urgently the status of international cooperation against those activities.

The focus would be on: evaluating implementation of the 1990 Global Programme of Action against illicit production, supply, demand, trafficking and distribution of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances; encouraging pursuit of trade liberalization measures to enhance trading opportunities of all countries affected by illicit drug production; strengthening international cooperation in alternative rural development and in eradicating the growing and dangerous links between terrorist groups, drug traffickers and their paramilitary gangs; and promoting universal ratification of the international drug control treaties, particularly the 1988 UN Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.

The Assembly also urged States to join that Convention *(47/97)* and intensify their actions to promote effective cooperation in the efforts to combat drug abuse and illicit trafficking, and refrain from using the issue for political purposes *(47/98)*.

All relevant UN agencies were to establish *(47/100)* specific implementation plans to incorporate all the mandates contained in the 1990 UN System-Wide Action Plan on Drug Abuse Control. The UN International Drug Control Programme was to place special emphasis *(47/101)* on dealing with those issues under the Global Programme of Action.

Eliminating production of illegal drugs is a high priority. *Above*, harvesting the opium poppy.

In a two-part text *(47/102)* on international action to combat drug abuse and illicit trafficking, the Assembly urged the UN Drug Control Programme to complement national and regional drug control plans with international strategies. The Programme was also requested to recommend measures to prevent the involvement of children in drug-related criminal activities and drug abuse.

Crime prevention

Stronger global and regional efforts were sought by the Assembly to combat crime in all its forms. Particularly alarmed by the rapid growth and geographical extension of organized crime, the world body called upon *(47/87)* the recently restructured and renamed Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice to monitor and analyse the incidence of transnational organized criminal activity.

A demographic 'coming of age'

The General Assembly on 11 November adopted *(47/5)* a Proclamation on Ageing by which it decided to observe 1999 as the International Year of Older Persons. That action followed a special international conference, convened in the Assembly plenary on 15 and 16 October 1992, to mark the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the 1982 International Plan of Action on Ageing.

According to the Proclamation, the Year will recognize "humanity's demographic coming of age and the promise it holds for maturing attitudes and capabilities in social, economic, cultural and spiritual undertakings, not least for global peace and development in the next century".

The benefits of experience, maturity and knowledge hold "promise for society as a whole; for there are grounds for hoping that giving the elderly a better place will help to re-establish our rhythms", stated Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 15 October.

The Proclamation calls for international cooperation to be promoted for life-long health, income generation and new forms of productive ageing.

It urges national initiatives to: view older persons as contributors to their societies and not as burdens; engage the entire population in preparing for the later stages of life; and help old and young generations cooperate in creating a balance between tradition and innovation in economic, social and cultural development.

The Proclamation also urges implementation of the Action Plan, wide dissemination of the UN Principles for Older Persons adopted in 1991, and support for practical strategies to reach global targets on ageing by the year 2001.

The targets, which include improving cross-national research on ageing and establishing a global network of senior volunteers for social and economic development, were adopted *(47/86)* by the Assembly on 16 December.

Paul Vozdic

It also wanted stronger international cooperation to combat organized crime, which, the Secretary-General reported *(A/47/381)*, had become "more imaginative, more diversified, more daring and far more aggressive". No country, he stated, was "completely free from, or fully immune to, the depredations of organized crime".

By resolution 47/91, the Assembly emphasized that the UN Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme, created in 1991, "had a special contribution to make in a world seeking to surmount serious problems of violence and crime". The Secretary-General was asked to assist the Commission in performing its functions as the "principal policy-making body in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice".

Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations were called upon *(47/89)* to intensify financial and other support to the UN African Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders.

Women and youth

The Assembly expressed appreciation for China's offer to host in Beijing, from 4 to 15 September 1995, the Fourth World Conference on Women *(47/95)*. It also called for the Commission on the Status of Women to continue promoting implementation of the 1985 Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women to the year 2000, based on the goals of the UN Decade for Women: equality, development and peace. The Secretary-General of the World Conference will be Gertrude Mongella of the United Republic of Tanzania.

The Commission was asked to give special attention to women in developing countries and create measures for the equalization of those women, particularly those in Africa, where they suffer disproportionately from the effects of the global economic crisis and heavy external debt burden. The Assembly urged the completion of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, for submission to the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights.

In resolution 47/96, the Assembly expressed grave concern over the plight of migrant women workers who are victims of physical, mental and sexual harassment and abuse, noting the mounting reports of serious abuse by their employers in some host countries. States were asked to adopt measures to provide support services for victims of violence and cooperate in taking steps to ensure that the rights of women migrant workers are protected.

All States which had not done so were urged *(47/94)* to join the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

The Assembly called for *(47/93)* implementation of a plan to achieve an overall 35 per cent participation rate of women by 1995 in posts subject to geographical distribution in the UN Secretariat, along with a 25 per cent rate in D-1 level and above posts. The plan, as outlined by the Secretary-General *(A/47/508)*, will focus on departmental targets, managerial accountability and career development.

By a text on policies and programmes involving youth *(47/85)*, the Assembly emphasized the need for a review of progress made and obstacles encountered in the implementation of the guidelines drawn up during International Youth Year (1985) and asked the Secretary-General to continue preparing a draft world youth programme of action to the year 2000 and beyond. Member States were asked to educate young people about environment and human rights issues and prepare a national plan of action for 1993 to 1995, based on evaluation of the national situation and needs of youth.

The Assembly also proclaimed *(47/90)* the first Saturday of July 1995 to be the International Day of Cooperatives, marking the centenary of the establishment of the International Cooperative Alliance. Governments were urged to consider the potential of cooperatives for contributing to the solution of economic, social and environmental problems.

From charity to integration

The Assembly on 14 October proclaimed 3 December as the International Day of Disabled Persons, capping off special plenary meetings on 12 and 13 October to mark the conclusion of the UN Decade of Disabled Persons (1983-1992).

"In the course of the Decade, disability issues have gone beyond the category of humanitarian concerns. They are now recognized in the dimension of human rights and development", said Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali at the opening of the special observance. "Disability policy has moved from charity to integrated social development planning."

UN Photo 181624/M. Tzovaras

The International Day marks the anniversary of the adoption in 1982 of the World Programme of Action concerning Disabled Persons, which the Secretary-General described as the "cornerstone" of the UN disability programme. The year 1992 marked "a transition point" in achieving a "Society for All", Mr. Boutros-Ghali asserted. "The Decade was a period of philosophical evolution. Now is the time for action."

By resolution 47/3, the Assembly also called for intensified efforts to improve the situation of disabled people and described the Decade as "a period of awareness-raising and action-oriented measures" aimed to equalize opportunities for persons with disabilities.

By another text *(47/88)*, adopted on the recommendation of the Third Committee, the Assembly urged Governments to improve the situation of disabled persons by establishing appropriate policies, providing preventative and rehabilitative measures to facilitate the integration of persons with disabilities into society, supporting the development of organizations of disabled persons, and using their knowledge in decision-making.

The Secretary-General was requested to "turn the focus" of the UN programme on disability "from awareness-raising to action". This was to be achieved by, among other things, considering creation of a panel of eminent persons, including disabled persons, to advise the Secretary-General on disability matters and reviewing the UN Development Programme's *Human Development Index*, to include assessing the treatment of disabled citizens as a factor of the quality of life in a society.

The Assembly welcomed the initiative of the United States to host, with the UN, an international conference on disability in the autumn of 1993, and the proposal of the Ministerial Conference on Persons with Disabilities (8-9 October, Montreal) to establish a ministerial-level working group on the subject.

In conjunction with the special plenary sessions at Headquarters, the Secretary-General's testimonials were awarded on 12 October in Vienna to five individuals and six organizations for distinguished service in the field of disability.

A record number of consensus resolutions

UN Photo 181780/M. Tzovaras

Sir Robert Jennings, President of the International Court of Justice, called for consideration of wider use of the Court's advisory opinions.

Elaboration of a draft statute for an international criminal court should be undertaken by the International Law Commission "as a matter of priority as from its next session", stated the General Assembly on 25 November, acting on one of 13 texts recommended by its Sixth Committee (Legal).

In adopting resolution 47/33 without a vote, the Commission was asked to present a progress report on the subject to the Assembly at its forty-eighth session.

In other action, the world body approved *(47/32)* the programme for the second term (1993-1994) of the UN Decade of International Law (1990-1999), and suggested holding a UN congress on public international law in 1994 or 1995. The Secretariat was asked to prepare a preliminary operational plan for such a congress.

Enhancement of cooperation between the UN and regional organizations in the maintenance of international peace and security, the question of assistance to third States affected by the application of sanctions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, and a proposal on UN rules for the conciliation of disputes between States were among the topics cited for review in 1993 by the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization *(47/38)*.

The question of authorization for the Secretary-General to request advisory opinions from the International Court of Justice (ICJ), due to its more controversial nature, was not expressly mentioned in the resolution, but included under "other specific proposals relating to the question of the peaceful settlement of disputes between States under consideration in the Special Committee".

Law and environment

In resolution 47/37, all States were urged to comply with international law as it related to the environment during war, become party to relevant international conventions and incorporate appropriate provisions into their military manuals. The Assembly also expressed deep concern over illegal damage to natural resources, including the destruction of hundreds of oil-well heads and the release of crude oil into the sea during recent conflicts.

Acts of violence against diplomatic and consular missions and representatives, as well as personnel and officials of international intergovernmental organizations, were strongly condemned in resolution 47/31 by the Assembly, stressing that such acts could never be justified.

In resolution 47/29, adopted by recorded vote, the Assembly urged States to accord delegations of national liberation movements, recognized by the Organization of African Unity and/or by the League of Arab States, facilities, privileges and immunities necessary for the performance of their functions.

In other texts, the Assembly called on States to become parties to the Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and relating to the Protection of Victims of Armed Conflicts *(47/30)*; and expressed hope that the host country would continue to take all measures necessary to prevent any interference with the functioning of missions accredited to the UN *(47/35)*.

The Asssembly urged States, in applying the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, to accord full facilities to consular offices in the performance of their functions *(47/36)*.

> **"The International Law Commission is to elaborate as a 'matter of priority' a draft statute for an international criminal court"**

Decisions were also taken on the following subjects: a convention on jurisdictional immunities of States and their property; consideration of the draft articles on the status of the diplomatic courier and the diplomatic bag not accompanied by diplomatic courier and of the draft optional protocols thereto; and a request for an advisory opinion from the ICJ on a matter relating to the extraterritorial exercise of domestic jurisdiction and to international judicial cooperation.

In a closing statement, Committee Chairman Javad Zarif of Iran said that the Committee this year had approved a record number of draft resolutions by consensus. He added that the willingness of delegations to bridge differences of opinion was "one of the most positive features of modern multilateral diplomacy as practised by the United Nations".

Law of the Sea Convention: Ten years later

A 'milestone in the building of a true community of nations'

The UN Convention on the Law of the Sea had been a "milestone in our Organization's almost 50-year history, a milestone in the building of a true community of nations", said Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 10 December, addressing the General Assembly on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Convention's opening for signature in Montego Bay, Jamaica, on 10 December 1982.

The Convention has been signed by 159 Governments—a total never before achieved by any international treaty. However, it has yet to be ratified by all States, including large industrialized countries which, the Secretary-General stated, were among the major maritime users and the "major polluters" of the sea. Citizens of those countries "must be made aware of that fact and must decide whether such a state of affairs can go on", Mr. Boutros-Ghali said.

The Convention addressed the "whole of human activity", aiming "not to tame the sea", which the Secretary-General said was the "last wild portion of the 'finite world'", but to ensure that man's share in it was "at least shaped by law".

Major impact

Although not yet in force, the Convention has had a "major impact on State practice in maritime matters", José Luis Jesus of Cape Verde, Chairman of the Preparatory Commission for the International Seabed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea, told the Assembly. A substantial practice had developed among an overwhelming majority of States to "adjust their policies and national legislation to the new legal order for the oceans".

Ambassador Arvid Pardo of Malta: Supporter of the concept of the "common heritage of mankind".

However, problems still remained. Thomas Richardson of the United Kingdom, speaking on behalf of the European Community, said that "for universality—and necessary financial support—to be achieved, outstanding issues relating to deep seabed mining would have to be resolved".

Irvin Hicks of the United States believed that the seabed mining regime was "seriously flawed". Notwithstanding the "general success" of the Convention, consensus had "eluded the international community on the issue of deep seabed mining". That had been unfortunate because his country continued to support the objective of a "universally acceptable Convention", he said.

In resolution 47/65, adopted on 11 December, the Assembly called upon all States to "consider ratifying or acceding to the Convention at the earliest possible date to allow the effective entry into force of the new legal regime for the uses of the sea".

The world body recognized that political and economic changes, including in particular a growing reliance on market principles, underscored the "need to re-evaluate, in the light of the issues of concern to some States", matters in the seabed mining regime. A "productive dialogue" on such issues involving all interested parties would "facilitate the prospect of universal participation in the Convention, for the benefit of mankind as a whole".

At the 10 December commemoration, Mr. Boutros-Ghali paid tribute to Ambassador Arvid Pardo of Malta who 25 years ago, he said, had urged the Assembly to place the question of the law of the sea on its agenda and helped convince it of the "necessity of adapting the law of the sea to the new world landscape".

Common heritage

Mr. Pardo, 79, a proponent of the concept of the common heritage of mankind, wanted to link it to preserving the resources of the sea. "When presenting that idea, I thought it could serve as sort of a bridge to the future and unite the world community in its quest to preserve our planet for generations to come", he said in a recent interview with the *UN Chronicle*.

"No doubt, the declaration of the seabed and its resources as the common heritage of mankind was bound to change the structural relationship between rich and poor countries. And that change amounted to a revolution not merely in the law of the sea but also in international relations."

Complete decolonization by 2000 pursued

Recognizing that the "eradication of colonialism is one of the priorities of the Organization for the decade beginning in 1990", the General Assembly on 25 November called upon the administering Powers to take all necessary steps to enable the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories to "exercise fully as soon as possible their right to self-determination and independence". By adopting resolution 47/23, the Assembly requested the Special Committee on decolonization to continue to pay special attention to the small Territories, in particular through the dispatch of regular visiting missions, and to recommend to the Assembly the most suitable steps to be taken to enable the population of those Territories to exercise their right to self-determination. It reaffirmed its declaration of the decade beginning in 1990 as the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism.

In other decolonization texts adopted directly in plenary, the Assembly requested *(47/24)* that a variety of means be employed to publicize the work of the UN in the field of decolonization and urged *(47/22)* UN agencies and international institutions to intensify their assistance to Non-Self-Governing Territories.

In all, the Assembly adopted seven resolutions and four decisions on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee (Decolonization).

On 13 October, the Chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization, Renagi Renagi Lohia of Papua New Guinea, said that it had decided to take measures to focus attention on the special needs of the remaining 18 Non-Self-Governing Territories. While positive changes in South Africa were noted, it had decided not to eliminate references to apartheid in its recommendations, he stated.

The Assembly reaffirmed *(47/15)* the inalienable right of the peoples of colonial and Non-Self-Governing Territories to self-determination and independence and to the enjoyment of their natural resources. It condemned those activities of foreign economic and other interests in the colonial Territories which impeded efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination.

> **"The eradication of colonialism is a UN priority"**

In texts *(47/27 A and B)* on 10 Non-Self-Governing Territories—American Samoa, Anguilla, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Guam, Montserrat, Tokelau, Turks and Caicos Islands, and the United States Virgin Islands—the Assembly reiterated that such factors as size of territory and of population and limited natural resources should not serve as a pretext to delay their self-determination.

The administering Powers were urged to guarantee the right of the peoples of those Territories to own, develop or dispose of their natural resources. Those Powers were urged to foster or continue to foster close relations between the Territories and other island communities in their respective regions, and to promote cooperation between the respective territorial Governments and regional institutions.

Regarding New Caledonia, all parties were invited *(47/26)* to continue promoting a framework for the peaceful progress of the Territory towards an act of self-determination, in which all options were open. The decision to establish a Melanesian cultural centre to help preserve the indigenous culture of New Caledonia was commended.

The Assembly also reiterated *(47/25)* its support for the organization of a referendum for self-determination in Western Sahara *(see page 72)*.

Noting the assistance extended to colonial Territories by certain specialized agencies and other UN organizations, in particular the UN Development Programme, the Assembly requested *(47/16)* those bodies to take appropriate measures to accelerate economic and social progress in the Territories.

The Assembly requested *(47/14)* the administering Powers to transmit or continue to transmit to the Secretary-General information relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, as prescribed in the UN Charter, as well as information on their political and constitutional developments. All States were invited *(47/17)* to make or continue to make generous offers of study and training facilities to the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

On 16 November, the Assembly adopted a decision *(47/409)* on military activities by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration, reiterating that such Territories should not be used for nuclear testing, deployment of nuclear weapons or dumping of nuclear wastes.

The Assembly, in a decision *(47/413)* on St. Helena, reaffirmed the inalienable right of its people to self-determination. It also adopted by consensus two texts, one *(47/412)* calling for the continuing respect for the lifestyle of the people of Pitcairn and the other *(47/411)* urging Spain and the United Kingdom to continue their negotiations on Gibraltar.

New declarations adopted on minorities, enforced disappearances

From a Norman Rockwell mural

Two new UN declarations—on "enforced disappearances" and on the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities—were adopted on 18 December by the General Assembly. They were among the more than 40 texts on human rights, racial discrimination and self-determination emanating from the work of the Third Committee (Social, Cultural and Humanitarian).

In addition, the world body formally proclaimed 1993 to be the International Year of the World's Indigenous People with the theme of "Indigenous people—a new partnership". It also welcomed the initiative of the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in proclaiming 1995 as the UN Year for Tolerance, and approved the provisional agenda for the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights, to be held in Vienna from 14 to 25 June.

Grave concern was expressed over the human rights situations in many parts of the world where, according to Assembly President Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria, abuses "continue unabated" despite the end of the cold war.

Describing a scene of "massive and systematic violations of human rights and grave violations of humanitarian law" in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, in particular Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Assembly condemned *(47/147)* the "abhorrent practice of 'ethnic cleansing'" and the "indiscriminate shelling of cities and civilian areas, the systematic terrorization and murder of non-combatants, the destruction of vital services, the besieging of cities and the use of military force against civilian populations and relief operations".

The Assembly also cited the "substantial worsening" of the human rights situation in Haiti since the September 1991 coup, problems regarding the Russian-speaking population in Estonia and Latvia, increasingly difficult living conditions for refugees in Afghanistan, and the serious situation in Myanmar, where Nobel Peace Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi is now in her fourth year of detention without trial. It called for all parties in the Sudan to permit delivery of humanitarian assistance and for the parties in El Salvador to fulfil their commitments under the Peace Agreements. Concern was also expressed regarding human rights violations in Iraq, Iran and Cuba.

The new declarations had been elaborated by the Commission on Human Rights and recommended for Assembly adoption through the Economic and Social Council.

The Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, annexed to resolution 47/135, proclaims that promoting and protecting the rights of such minorities "contribute to the political and social stability of States in which they live".

Containing nine articles, the text further declares:

- The existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities are to be protected within their respective territories by laws and other measures;
- Persons belonging to minorities have the right to enjoy their own culture, practise their own religion and use their own language;
- Minorities may exercise their rights individually, as well as in community with other members of their group, without any discrimination;
- States should provide adequate opportunities for persons belonging to minorities to learn their mother tongue and to participate fully in the economic progress and development in their country; and
- National policies and programmes should be planned and implemented with due regard for the legitimate interests of minorities.

The Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, described in resolution 47/133 as a "body of principles for all States", addresses the

Assembly's deep concern that in many countries, often in a persistent manner, enforced disappearances occur in the sense that persons are arrested, detained or abducted against their will by Government officials or by organized groups or private individuals acting on behalf or with the support of the Government, followed by a refusal to disclose the fate or whereabouts of the persons concerned or a refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of their liberty, thereby placing such persons outside the protection of the law.

The comprehensive and explicit 21-article text also declares:

- No State shall practise, permit or tolerate enforced disappearances.
- Each State shall pass laws and other measures to prevent such disappearances; and all such acts—including the abduction of children of parents subjected to enforced disappearance—shall be criminal offences punishable by serious penalties.
- No authority or circumstances—whether threat of war, state of war, internal political instability or any other public emergency—may justify enforced disappearances.
- Any person deprived of liberty should be held in an official place of detention and must be released with their physical integrity and ability to exercise their rights assured.
- Anyone with knowledge or legitimate interest who alleges that a person has been subjected to enforced disappearance has the right to complain to a competent and independent State authority, and to have that complaint promptly, thoroughly and impartially investigated.
- The victims of acts of enforced disappearance and their family have the right to adequate compensation.

In a related text *(47/132)*, Governments were called upon to take steps during states of emergency to ensure that human rights were protected, particularly regarding the prevention of enforced disappearances.

The Economic and Social Council is to consider at its next session the proposal of proclaiming 1995 as the UN Year for Tolerance *(47/124)*. UNESCO is to prepare a declaration on tolerance, as well as make suggestions for the Year's observance.

In another text *(47/129)*, States were urged to guarantee freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief, ensure respect for religious places and shrines and combat hatred, intolerance and acts of violence. They were also to refrain *(47/130)* from any activities, including financing political parties, to undermine the electoral processes in any country.

The Secretary-General was asked *(47/138)* to reinforce the Centre for Human Rights so that it could respond, in coordination with the Electoral Assistance Unit of the Secretariat, to the increasing number of requests from Member States for advisory services.

Racism, self-determination

Following discussions on racial discrimination and self-determination, the Assembly called on *(47/77)* Governments to take all necessary measures to combat new forms of racism. States were called on to join the 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination *(47/78)*. States parties to the Convention were asked to fulfil their financial and reporting obligations to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination *(47/79)*.

The importance of the universal ratification of the 1973 International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid was underlined *(47/81)*.

The Assembly demanded *(47/82)* the unconditional release of those detained as a result of their struggle for self-determination and declared *(47/83)* its "firm opposition" to acts of foreign military intervention, aggression and occupation.

The continued recruitment, financing, training, assembly, transit and use of mercenaries for destabilizing or overthrowing Governments of African and other developing States were condemned *(47/84)*, and any State persisting in such activities was denounced.

The Assembly also sought *(47/123)* concrete proposals on the effective implementation of the Declaration on the Right to Development. It reaffirmed the necessity of promoting the rights to education, work, health and proper nourishment at the national and international levels *(47/137)* and the need for urgent action against extreme poverty and exclusion from society, which "constitute a violation of human dignity" *(47/134)*.

In another text, the Assembly demanded *(47/136)* that the practice of summary or arbitrary executions be brought to an end and urged Governments to cooperate with the Special Rapporteur on that issue.

Street children

The Assembly was gravely concerned *(47/126)* at the growing number of incidents worldwide of street children being involved in serious crime, drug abuse, violence and prostitution.

States were urged *(47/112)* to join the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, as well as other international human rights instruments such as: the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide *(47/108)*; the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families *(47/110)*; and the 1984 Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment *(47/113)*.

States parties to such conventions were to fulfil their reporting and financial obligations under relevant international instruments on human rights *(47/111)*, while Governments, organizations and individuals were asked to contribute to the UN Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture *(47/109)*.

The Assembly underlined *(47/131)* the continuing need for impartial and objective information on the political, economic and social situations and events of all countries, and urged further development of public information activities in the field of human rights *(47/128)*.

The age-old dream: Freedom, justice, dignity for all

Global review of human rights set for Vienna in June 1993

Forty-four years ago, the UN adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a comprehensive document eloquently sketching the inalienable rights with which all of us are born.

Since then, the UN has slowly and methodically agreed on a body of human rights covenants, protocols and declarations, further defining our collective economic, social, cultural, political and civil rights and creating a system to protect them.

While few dispute the enormous progress made in spelling out these rights, it is tragically apparent that human rights continue to be violated everywhere, often on a massive scale.

This contradiction lies at the heart of the decision by the General Assembly to convene the World Conference on Human Rights, to be held in Vienna from 14 to 25 June 1993.

The World Conference will review the progress made since the first global conference was held in Teheran, Iran in 1968. It is to explore the possibilities for further refining the five main categories of human rights, and seek ways to improve and strengthen existing systems for promoting and protecting human rights at the international, regional and national levels. A primary Conference goal will be to make protection of human rights an integral component of social and economic development worldwide.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali articulated the underlying philosophy on Human Rights Day, 1992: "Full human dignity means not only freedom from torture, but also freedom from starvation. It means freedom to vote as it means the right to education. It means freedom of belief as it means the right to health. It means the right to enjoy all rights without discrimination. And true development requires a solid basis of democracy and popular participation."

Several current factors may help realize these goals: the UN's heightened emphasis on democracy and people-centred development; recent steps in many countries towards more participatory political systems; and the increasing globalization of the mass media, which has raised awareness of human rights issues everywhere.

At the same time, the meeting will have to address recent world developments that have put the human rights of millions of people in grave jeopardy: the frightening spread of ethnic, national and religious conflicts; the deterioration of many countries' economies and the widening gap between rich and poor; and growing environmental crises related to unsustainable use of resources and rapid population growth.

The Universal Declaration spells out such basic human rights as legal equality, freedom from torture, freedom of religion, and the rights to vote, to be educated, to adequate health care and to an adequate living standard. Many of these were given the force of law in two international covenants on human rights, which were approved in 1966 and took effect in 1976, and in specific conventions adopted over the years which ban, among other things, genocide, racial discrimination, discrimination against women, and punishment that is cruel, inhuman or degrading.

Various bodies monitor compliance with these treaties, and communicate with Governments—with varying degrees of success—when violations are reported. This framework of treaties and implementation measures has had a tremendous impact, helping to create an international culture of respect for human rights. Provisions of the treaties have been written into national legislation. Intervention by UN Special Rapporteurs and the spotlight of world attention have prevented executions and won the release of prisoners.

It is apparent, nevertheless, that the international community needs to do more to help many people around the world who continue to be deprived of fundamental human rights.

With this in mind, the Assembly in December 1990 resolved to convene the 1993 World Conference, after having asked the Secretary-General to solicit input from Governments, UN agencies and human rights non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The 1968 Conference on Human Rights held in Teheran, contributed to the reconceptualization of human rights by introducing a structural approach, emphasizing the interconnection of human

rights concepts, and a causal approach linking human rights, for example, to self-determination and, later on, to the right to development. This reconceptualization, however, was not adequately implemented.

The upcoming Conference has several objectives as outlined in Assembly resolution 45/155: to assess progress in the human rights field since the 1948 Universal Declaration and identify ways to overcome obstacles to further progress; to examine the relationship between development and the universal application of human rights; to find ways to better implement human rights standards and treaties and strengthen UN monitoring and promotional mechanisms; and to recommend ways to ensure the necessary financial resources.

Indivisibility of rights

The Conference provisional agenda, approved by the Assembly in December 1992, incorporates these aims while underscoring the "indivisibility of economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights". After some debate, it was agreed that the gathering will have a focus that is broad rather than specific, and will not be a forum for allegations of human rights violations in particular countries. Rather, the intent is to find ways to: make existing organizations and processes work better; strengthen international, regional and national systems of justice, and coordination among them; improve mechanisms for monitoring human rights efforts and reporting violations, and revise legal instruments or implementation methods to protect vulnerable groups better.

The 1990 resolution emphasized the need to create conditions that would allow all people to enjoy fully the broad range of human rights. Accordingly, one agenda item focuses on the relationship of development to democracy and the universal enjoyment of human rights. An active debate is taking place in this regard between developing nations that want greater priority given to the "right to development" and industrial countries that place more emphasis on political and civil rights *(see p. 96)*.

These different perspectives may likewise be reflected during debate over recommendations for ensuring "universality, objectivity and non-selectivity" in the application of human rights, with some countries that depend on development assistance objecting to standards of human rights compliance imposed by donors as conditions of further aid.

The question of national sovereignty lies at the centre of the debate over whether or not to increase the authority of the UN system to intervene in the internal affairs of nations where human rights are being violated.

Other agenda items will commemorate the International Year for the World's Indigenous People *(see p. 95)* and address contemporary challenges in the field of human rights. The latter point will include consideration of ways to strengthen women's rights *(see p. 98)* and the rights of various vulnerable groups (children, especially girls, and street children; refugees and displaced persons; migrant workers and their families; racial, national, ethnic and linguistic minorities; the elderly; the disabled; and people with acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS).

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are expected to provide significant input to the deliberations and the resulting final plan of action. In light of their productive involvement in the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development, it was agreed after some debate that UN-accredited NGOs with expertise in human rights will have observer status at the World Conference.

Proposals before the Conference include giving consideration to the creation of a UN Permanent Commissioner for Human Rights and an International Court for Human Rights. Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, in his 1992 *Report on the Work of the Organization*, suggested exploring "ways of empowering the Secretary-General and expert human rights bodies to bring massive violations of human rights to the attention of the Security Council together with recommendations for action".

The UN Centre for Human Rights, which is the focal point for human rights issues at the Organization, is the conference secretariat, overseeing more than two years of substantial preparations.

Regional declarations

There were three Conference Preparatory Committee meetings in Geneva in 1992 and a fourth will be held from 19 to 30 April 1993. Regional meetings have also been held, including an African meeting in Tunis (2-6 November 1992) and a meeting for Latin America and the Caribbean in San José, Costa Rica (18-22 January 1993). An Asian regional meeting is scheduled in Bangkok from 29 March to 2 April 1993. The nations of Europe and North America will meet informally.

The Tunis Declaration adopted at the African meeting emphasizes that: "The right to development is inalienable. Human rights, development and international peace are interdependent." The African countries cited as particular threats to human rights in their region "internal tensions deriving from the failure to meet the basic needs of populations" and "racism, particularly in new forms, extremism and fanaticism, whether of religious or other origin".

In the San José Declaration, Latin American and Caribbean Governments, among other things, condemned terrorism and drug trafficking, and pledged to respect indigenous peoples' political initiatives and cultural diversity.

The regional declarations also reflect the high expectations of the world community for the UN as a force for human rights. The World Conference aims to ensure that, in the words of Mr. Boutros-Ghali, "the age-old dream of freedom, justice and dignity for all is not beyond one's reach".

Enforcing human rights: The UN machinery

In spite of the many legal instruments and procedures for protecting human rights globally, violations are still widespread. To address this problem, the World Conference on Human Rights will review existing enforcement mechanisms so that the rights of peoples everywhere may be ensured.

On one hand, the United Nations can point to an active and often effective system of promotion and protection of rights. In 1990, for example, UN human rights monitors sent nearly 1,100 urgent-action cables to Governments, on behalf of individuals allegedly facing torture, arbitrary detention, or summary or arbitrary execution. At the same time, UN experts were assisting a record number of Governments in promoting human rights through new national constitutions, democratic elections and stronger institutions of justice.

But the upcoming review will inevitably highlight the system's shortcomings as well. It is woefully underfunded and understaffed. The main conventions remain unratified by scores of Member States. There is also growing concern that the existing system does not possess the necessary authority to ensure compliance or punish violators of human rights. Thus, the review may lead to concrete recommendations to strengthen the instruments and mechanisms protecting human rights.

Bodies set up under international treaties are involved in an ever-expanding range of human rights activities, monitoring compliance with conventions that ban racial discrimination and abuse of prisoners, establishing dialogues with Governments accused of violations, and providing advice and technical assistance to national human rights efforts.

The central international body promoting human rights is the Commission on Human Rights, established in 1946 under the Economic and Social Council. Its secretariat—the Geneva-based Centre for Human Rights—is also the secretariat for the World Conference.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, drafted by the Commission and adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948, recognizes as basic human rights: the right to life, liberty and personal security; equality before the law and equal protection under it; freedom of movement and residence; freedom from torture and cruel or degrading punishment; the right to seek asylum from persecution; the right to a nationality; freedom of thought, conscience and religion; the right to vote and participate in government; and the rights to an education, to work and join trade unions, and to an adequate living standard.

Many of these provisions, and some additional ones, have since been incorporated in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (which took effect in 1976 and has been ratified to date by 115 States parties) and several other multilateral agreements which are legally binding on Governments that ratified them. Under each treaty, there is a committee of independent experts which monitors compliance, examines complaints of violations, and engages in dialogues with Governments.

For example, the 18-member Human Rights Committee reviews Governments' reports on efforts to observe the International Covenant, as well as complaints against other States parties for non-compliance. It also considers complaints from individual citizens of States parties—67 so far—to the Covenant's first Optional Protocol; these have included cases of ill-treatment in detention, unfair trial and discrimination of various kinds. (A second Optional Protocol seeks to abolish capital punishment; it has only 12 States parties so far.)

Other key agreements include:

- The 1951 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (103 States parties) provides for prosecution of anyone charged with commissioning acts intended to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group.
- The 1969 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (132 States parties) prohibits discrimination and dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or hatred.
- The 1981 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (120 States parties) addresses discrimination in public life, education, employment, health, marriage and the family.
- The 1987 Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (71 States parties) holds States parties responsible for preventing torture and punishing torturers, even those acting under orders.
- The 1990 Convention on the Rights of the Child (126 States parties) defines primary health care and education, among others, as rights of all children.
- In addition, the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (not yet in force) forbids slavery and forced labour.

UN officials have proposed that the World Conference endorse the goal of universal ratification of the two International Covenants and the major human rights conventions by the year 2000.

Rapporteurs and working groups

One of the most important mechanisms to enforce compliance with human rights treaties is the so-called 1503 Procedure, named for the Economic and Social Council resolution that established it. Under the Procedure, UN experts may examine allegations that "a pattern of gross violations of human rights" exists in a particular country.

The Commission on Human Rights appoints country and thematic rapporteurs or working groups to address global issues. Current themes include summary or arbitrary executions, torture, involuntary disappearances, arbitrary detention, the sale of children and other child abuses, religious intolerance, and the negative impact of mercenaries on the right to self-determination.

The first such body was the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, established in 1980. It has examined 35,000 cases in 55 countries, made queries to Governments, and informed relatives of missing persons of any replies received.

The recently-established Working Group on Arbitrary Detention is the first mandated to investigate cases, rather than simply examine them. It employs an "adversary approach", considering information provided by both States and complainants.

Each year, the rapporteurs and working groups submit reports on their activities to the Human Rights Commission or the General Assembly. Information is gathered from Governments, human rights organizations, witnesses, victims and relatives. In 1991, rapporteurs carried out fact-finding missions in 27 countries, which included a number of visits to prisons and private talks with prisoners.

UN rapporteurs and working groups respond to reports of disappearance, torture, arbitrary detention, and summary or arbitrary execution by sending "urgent action" cables to Governments, appealing on humanitarian grounds for protection of the individuals involved. Such intervention on summary and arbitrary executions has often resulted in commutation of sentences or new trials for persons sentenced to death after trials that did not meet human rights standards.

The UN Secretary-General and the Under-Secretary-General for Human Rights sometimes employ quiet diplomacy on behalf of political prisoners or those facing execution. These "good offices" appeals, usually confidential, are often successful.

Technical assistance

To aid countries in the promotion of human rights, the UN, meanwhile, offers six kinds of technical assistance:

- Helping reform national laws. In 1990, for example, the Centre for Human Rights organized a seminar on constitutional law for Romanian parliamentarians involved in drafting their country's new constitution. Similar assistance has been provided recently to Bulgaria and Mongolia.
- Advising on electoral procedures. In 1991, UN experts visited Albania and Lesotho to assist in the legal and technical aspects of upcoming elections.
- Assisting in the ratification of human rights treaties and preparation of the requisite national reports. This has included country visits by human rights experts and regional and subregional training courses.
- Supporting democratization. Since the 1988 upheaval in eastern and central Europe, the Centre has been active in helping countries of the region hold elections, set up national human rights institutions and draft laws in line with human rights conventions.
- Strengthening national and regional institutions. Country programmes in Uruguay, Colombia, Guatemala and Poland have built human rights infrastructures and trained judges, law-enforcement officials and military officers.
- Training in the administration of justice. Since 1988, the UN has organized about 30 human rights training courses worldwide for some 2,500 professionals, granting more than 200 scholarships and fellowships.

Financial support for these technical advisory services comes from contributions to the Voluntary Fund for Technical Cooperation in the Field of Human Rights, administered by the Centre. As of 31 December 1992, 25 countries had contributed $5.6 million to the Fund.

Obtaining increased funding commitments to assist human rights programmes is one of the principal goals of the World Conference. As a target, UN officials have proposed that at least 0.5 per cent of total development cooperation budgets be allocated to human rights.

How To Participate

The World Conference on Human Rights, like all major UN meetings, is principally a gathering of delegations representing Member States. However, the Assembly welcomes the participation of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) throughout the long process leading up to and including the World Conference itself.

NGOs who wish to participate in the Conference should contact Mr. John Pace, Coordinator of the World Conference, UN Centre for Human Rights, Palais des Nations, CH-1211, Geneva, Switzerland.

Two NGOs, the Boltzmann Institute (Möllwaldplatz 4, A-1040 Vienna, Austria; fax: (431) 505 46 79) and the International Service for Human Rights (1 rue de Varembé, Case 16, CH Geneva 20 CIC; fax: (41-22) 733 08 26), are organizing a number of parallel NGO events, including a pre-conference briefing from 10 to 12 June in Geneva.

For more information on the complex issues surrounding the Conference, contact the Programme Manager for Human Rights, Room S-1040 United Nations, New York, NY 10017; fax: (212) 963-4556.

Indigenous peoples: Pressing for greater rights

Brutally forced off their ancestral lands in many instances, faced with discrimination and poverty, and often afforded little say in their political futures, indigenous peoples worldwide are increasingly seeking to exercise their full range of human rights.

As the world community grapples with how best to reconcile their demands for self-determination with the sovereignty of nation States, there is growing recognition of the need for new international standards to safeguard the lifestyles and cultures of indigenous peoples.

It is no surprise, therefore, that indigenous peoples have a place on the agenda of the World Conference on Human Rights this June, spurred in part by the decision of the General Assembly to proclaim 1993 as the International Year of the World's Indigenous People.

"The way indigenous people are treated by States and the international community will be a major test of the seriousness of our commitment to a genuinely universal human rights regime", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali noted at the ceremony to open the International Year. "If we are serious about development, political participation and human rights, we must address the special situation of indigenous people."

To further these goals, the Secretary-General named Rigoberta Menchú as Goodwill Ambassador for the Year. Ms. Menchú, a Quiché activist from Guatemala, was awarded the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize.

An estimated 300 million persons in 70 countries from Australia to the Arctic are considered to be indigenous. More than half live in China and India, some 10 million in Myanmar (Burma) and 30 million in South America. While the situations and histories of these peoples vary considerably, common problems include the loss or degradation of native lands due to colonization or development and the threat of involuntary assimilation into the dominant cultures that surround them.

Despite such hardships, indigenous peoples have battled to keep control of their cultural identities and lands and maintain their unique closeness to the natural environment. But as economic and population growth have transformed the landscape, the indigenous have frequently been the most directly affected by deforestation, mining, hydroelectric projects and toxic waste disposal, for instance.

Until recently, international action to protect the human rights of indigenous peoples has been limited. In 1953, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) completed a study that led to the adoption in 1957 of Convention No. 107 on the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples. This was, however, not totally effective and in 1969 the ILO adopted Convention No. 169 to promote consultations between Governments and indigenous peoples. The instruments addressed, among other things, collective and individual land rights and ownership of natural resources in these peoples' traditional habitats.

Two years later, the UN Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities initiated a study of discrimination against indigenous peoples. This led in 1982 to the creation of a Working Group on Indigenous Populations, intended to review the policies of Governments and draft a universal declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples.

The Working Group, which meets annually, has laboured to define self-determination, including autonomy and self-government, and collective rights to territories in a manner acceptable to Governments. The issues involved are politically sensitive and progress has been slow. At the 1992 annual meeting of the Working Group, its Chairperson and Rapporteur, Erika-Irene Daes, said she was hopeful that such a declaration "would become a standard to which both Governments and indigenous peoples could aspire".

On an equal footing

A draft of the universal declaration, made public in 1991, proclaimed that indigenous peoples have the right to be protected from genocide, maintain their distinct ethnic and cultural identities, use their own languages, own and control their traditional lands, be compensated for confiscated lands, be consulted on development projects that will affect them, exercise autonomy in internal affairs, and "participate on an equal footing with all other citizens and without adverse discrimination in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State".

The Working Group's final draft is expected in 1993; it is hoped that a revised draft of the declaration will be completed in 1993.

Although it remains unclear exactly how the various issues surrounding indigenous peoples' rights will be raised at the World Conference, there is no doubt that they are a concern for many countries and high on the non-governmental organizations agenda as well. Other activities planned for the Year include: a Maori Spiritual Elders' Conference and a Maori Women's Conference in New Zealand; an Indigenous Programme of the International Congress on Circumpolar Health in Iceland; the Second International Indigenous Youth Conference in Australia; and a Conference of the Pacific Asia Council of Indigenous People in India.

The right to development: A North-South divide?

The growing economic divide between North and South may well be reflected in the upcoming World Conference on Human Rights, as many developing and industrialized countries define their human rights concerns in sharply different terms. One basic difference over how much emphasis to place on the "right to development" may set the tone for a pointed debate at the Vienna conference.

Many developing countries contend that political and civil rights cannot be separated from or be given priority over economic, social and cultural rights. Increasingly, they have asserted that development is an essential human right and objected to what many see as the industrial countries' narrow view of human rights as solely involving political and civil liberties. Indeed, in their view, economic development and an adequate living standard are preconditions of expanded political and civil rights. Further, the "collective rights" of people, some argue, may take precedence over certain rights of individuals.

A number of industrial countries, on the other hand, contend that some individual freedoms must exist for successful development to take place. Some have pressed developing countries to open their political processes and better protect their citizens' civil rights.

Partially reflecting both points of view, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali recently declared that "development provides the foundation for human rights advances and . . . equally, human rights is the key which unlocks the creative energies of people so central to economic progress".

The UN has acknowledged development as a right, implicitly or explicitly, practically from its inception. In 1948, the right to development was confirmed in Article 28 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that "everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized". The Universal Declaration also recognized the rights to work, to education and to an adequate standard of living. The Covenant stressed the "essential importance of international cooperation" in realizing this right.

The 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights made this commitment more explicit, obligating States to "recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living . . . including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions".

The 1969 Declaration on Social Progress and Development stated that "all peoples and all human beings . . . shall have the right . . . to enjoy the fruits of social progress and should, on their part, contribute to it".

In 1986, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Right to Development, which it described as "an inalienable human right by virtue of which each person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized". The Declaration proclaims, among other things, that: the human person is the central subject of development and should be the participant and beneficiary of the right to development; all human beings have a responsibility for development; and States have the primary responsibility for creating national and international conditions that will allow the right to development to be realized.

The Declaration also states that the right to development is both an individual and a collective right—a right of "every human person and all peoples"—and adds that "equality of opportunity for development is a prerogative both of nations and of individuals".

Interrelationships

Continuing this emphasis, the World Conference will consider "the relationship between development, democracy and the universal enjoyment of human rights, keeping in view the interrelationship and indivisibility of economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights". In March and April 1992, at the second Preparatory Committee meeting for the Conference, some developing countries made it clear that they attached special importance to the subject.

India, for example, stated that the 1993 Conference needed to emphasize that development should be the central global concern, so that the weakest and the poorest were enabled to enjoy human rights. China stated that the Conference should reflect the important connection between human rights and economic development.

Declarations adopted at regional preparatory meetings for the World Conference have similarly underscored the interrelatedness of human rights and development. In the Tunis Declaration, representatives of the African States affirmed: "Political freedom when not accompanied by respect for economic, social and political rights is precarious."

The Declaration continued: "Lasting progress towards the implementation of human rights implies, at the national level, effective development policies and, at the international level, more equitable economic relations, as well as a favourable economic environment."

In part, this emphasis reflects the view of many developing countries that world attention to human rights violations has focused so far almost exclusively on such concerns as torture, executions, imprisonment without fair trial and involuntary disappearances.

Obstacles to development

During the 1992 session of the Assembly's Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural), several Asian, African and Latin American delegates articulated the view that consideration of human rights should give priority to development issues.

"If there is genuine concern about the human rights situation in developing countries", said Li Daoyu of China, "the primary need is to remove obstacles to development, lessen external trade, provide those countries with unconditional assistance and create a better economic environment for their survival."

Said Luis Fernando Jaramillo of Colombia: "The right to development is the pillar for economic and social rights, which must help preserve civil and political rights. The right to development is an inalienable right, yet industrialized countries fail to recognize it."

In contrast, at last year's Earth Summit, the United States qualified its support for the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development by reiterating its position that "development is not a right. On the contrary, it is a goal that we all hold, which depends for its realization in large part on the promotion and protection of the human rights set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

In the same vein, British delegate Henry Steel told the 1992 session of the Commission on Human Rights that unless human rights were protected by an open, fair legal system, ordinary citizens would not be motivated to play a full part in the development process.

Far from being abstract, the debate on the right to development has far-reaching economic implications.

Developing countries have argued that the current state of the world economy is not conducive to the expansion of human rights. Foreign debts of developing countries currently amount to more than $1.3 trillion. Primary commodity prices, upon which most developing nations' economies depend for exports and hard currency, have reached their lowest levels since the 1930s. In Africa, Asia and Latin America, extreme poverty remains the lot of hundreds of millions of peoples.

Developing countries have also called for their efforts to be supported by an increased flow of resources and by measures creating a favourable environment for development. In particular, they want a restructuring of international economic relations.

Similar proposals were made at the 1992 session of the Commission. In the view of Nigerian delegate Olu Adeniji, most developing countries were victims of an international economic system that inhibited their economic and social development. He emphasized that the debt burden and ever-falling commodity prices had led to drops in national incomes and increasing impoverishment.

The dispute is also manifested in conflicts over international development assistance, with developing countries objecting to political conditions that are increasingly being set by donor Governments. Outside pressure to hold elections or to free prisoners, for example, is regarded as infringing on national sovereignty. Such conditionality is also viewed as selective and discriminatory.

According to the San José Declaration of the Latin American and Caribbean States, "when democratic Governments are making determined efforts to resolve their human rights problems, such problems should not be used for political ends or as a condition to extending assistance or socio-economic cooperation".

The Tunis Declaration, meanwhile, cautioned that "no ready-made model" of human rights "can be prescribed at the universal level since the historical and cultural realities of each nation and the tradition, standards and values of each people cannot be disregarded".

Many developing countries believed that the industrial countries are obligated to provide assistance and redress the international economic barriers in the way of economic development, such as heavy foreign debt burdens and record-low prices for the commodities developing countries export.

Thus, among the "obstacles to development" identified at the San José regional meeting were "poor socio-economic conditions resulting partly from the transfer of resources for the servicing of foreign debt and from the disparity in the terms of international trade".

The San José Declaration also cited the "shortage of resources for the institutionalization and implementation of justice". The Tunis meeting likewise noted that "the proper administration of justice and an independent judiciary" were "impossible without substantial investment".

Furthermore, observed participants at the 1990 UN Conference on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: "In the absence of an active programme of international assistance and cooperation on the part of all those States that are in a position to undertake one, the full realization of economic, social and cultural rights will remain an unfulfilled aspiration of many countries."

Despite the different priorities of developing and industrial countries on the issue of development and human rights, there is a broad consensus that "without democracy, a people's potential for socio-economic progress cannot flower", Bangladesh's Foreign Minister Mostafizur Rahman told the UN General Assembly in 1991. But there is also a widespread concern, he said, that "without improved standards of living and a vision of the future that cannot sustain hope, democracy will wither".

Empowering women: The call for equal rights

For too long, say advocates, the international community has not given women's rights the priority attention they deserve.

Existing UN conventions, however, are very clear: all women have the right to an education, adequate health care and equality with men in the legal and political spheres. They also have the right to protection against violence, forced prostitution and discrimination. But turning those words into reality has proven difficult.

The search for ways to strengthen the protection of women's rights will be a major emphasis of the World Conference on Human Rights. Among other things, the gathering will discuss ways to enhance the effectiveness of the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the primary legal instrument protecting women's rights, now ratified by 118 States. It will also examine how to deal with violence against women as a human rights issue.

Gender-related violations

"Many violations of women's human rights are distinctly connected to being female . . . that is, women are discriminated against and abused on the basis of gender", observes Charlotte Bunch, Director of the Center for Women's Global Leadership at Rutgers University in the United States.

Consequently, say women's rights experts, certain human rights questions need to be considered from a gender perspective.

The 1979 Convention describes constitutional, legislative and other measures to promote equality through affirmative action, maternity protection, equal employment opportunities and equality before the law. It includes articles on economic, social and cultural aspects of women's lives.

A 23-member Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women monitors implementation of the Convention. These independent experts question States parties on women's participation in Governments and parliaments, percentages of female enrolment at all levels of education, protection of maternity, equal conditions of employment, family law, and conditions of female migrant workers.

Widespread violence against women, much of it inflicted by husbands, lovers or fathers, demands particular attention as a human rights issue. Since most of this violence takes place in private, it is difficult to assist the victims.

A draft declaration on violence against women under UN consideration condemns what it tentatively defines as "any act, omission, controlling behaviour or threat in any sphere that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological injury to women". The declaration would call on States to prevent, investigate and punish such violence, whether committed by individuals or States and their agents, and to ensure that rehabilitation and aid in child care are provided to victims.

Three fourths of the world's refugees are women and children. Refugee women are often victims of rape and other forms of sexual abuse and thus are in special need of attention. The World Conference is also expected to address this issue.

In addition, each year thousands of women and girls worldwide are forced into prostitution. The 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others, which 64 States have ratified, seeks to protect women against this form of abuse. How to combat harmful traditional practices, such as sexual mutilation of women and "dowry deaths", is also under consideration.

Removing barriers

More broadly, the international community is focusing increasingly on the general advancement of women, which the 1985 World Conference on Women called "without a doubt a precondition for the establishment of a humane and progressive society".

This involves, among other things, legal changes to remove barriers to women's participation in politics and the labour force, expanded educational opportunities, an increase in the value attached to work done by women, creation of new and wider employment opportunities, a reduction in teenage marriage and pregnancy, and stepped-up efforts to improve women's health and nutritional status.

Especially urgent in this regard is access to family planning information and services, which may lead to lower rates of mortality for both mothers and their children and allows women to participate more fully in activities outside the home.

Perhaps most important is the need to strengthen the perception that all human rights are linked to the protection of women's rights. Observes Kay Fraleigh, representative of the International Alliance of Women at the UN: "Human rights issues are so interwoven that no advance can be made in one area without reference to another."

NEWS ALMANAC

Nuclear power principles adopted

The General Assembly on 14 December adopted a Set of Principles relevant to the use of nuclear power sources in outer space *(47/68)*. The principles had been recommended to the Assembly in June by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, after more than 13 years of negotiations.

The Principles state that the use of nuclear power should be restricted to space missions which could not be operated by non-nuclear energy sources in a reasonable way and spell out specific goals for radiation protection. They oblige States to conduct a thorough safety assessment prior to launching nuclear-power space objects and notify other States of their imminent re-entry. States would also bear international responsibility for their use of nuclear power in space and should provide assistance, including clean-up operations, to eliminate any harmful effects caused by fallen space objects.

Worldwide refugee population: A 'staggering' 17 million

During 1992, the global refugee situation deteriorated particularly in the Persian Gulf, the Horn of Africa, South-West Asia and Europe, despite far-reaching changes in the world order, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported to the Third Committee.

While progress was made in solving certain refugee situations, notably in Central America and South-East Asia, the world's refugee population remained at "a staggering 17 million", the annual UNHCR review *(A/47/12)* states.

UNHCR Photo 16052/04/C. Fedele

Central American refugees have been voluntarily repatriated after years in exile.

Strongly deploring ethnic and other forms of intolerance as one of the major causes of forced migratory movements, the Assembly reaffirmed *(resolution 47/105)* the fundamental nature of the UNHCR mandate to provide international protection and the need for States to cooperate fully with UNHCR in fulfilling this task. It welcomed the appointment of a Senior Coordinator for Refugee Children and the proposed appointment of an environmental coordinator to develop guidelines for incorporating environmental considerations into UNHCR programmes. In another text *(47/104)*, UNHCR was authorized to continue its work for a further period of five years from 1 January 1994.

Sanctions against Libya remain in force

The arms and air embargo against Libya, effective on 15 April 1992, was extended by the Security Council on 9 December, despite Libya's contention that it had proven its opposition to terrorism and had "earnestly and effectively" implemented the Council's demands.

According to resolution 748 (1992) of 31 March, by which the embargo was established, the Council should review the sanctions "every 120 days or sooner, should the situation so require". The embargo prevents Libya from receiving arms and related material of all types, and prohibits air traffic to or from that country. It was imposed after France, the United Kingdom and the United States complained that Libya had failed to respond effectively to their requests to cooperate fully in establishing responsibility for terrorist bombings, which took place in 1988 and 1989.

Comoros and Mayotte

The General Assembly, by resolution 47/9, reaffirmed the sovereignty of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros over the island of Mayotte. The UN Secretary-General was requested to maintain contact with the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity regarding this problem and to make available his good offices in the search for a peaceful negotiated solution to the problem. France, casting the only vote against the resolution, said it was actively searching for a satisfactory solution, which would respect the will of the populations concerned.

World Disarmament Campaign

Pledges totalling $1,538,624 were announced on 30 October at the tenth UN Pledging Conference for the World Disarmament Campaign, an increase of more than $600,000 over last year's pledges. The contributions also included pledges for the UN Regional Centres for Peace and Disarmament, and the UN Institute for Disarmament Research. At the Conference, attended by 73 countries, several representatives suggested that the name of the Campaign be changed to UN Disarmament Information Programme to reflect better the nature and purpose of the activities being undertaken and to move away from the terminology of the cold war. That was approved by the General Assembly on 9 December in resolution 47/53 D.

Call for export ban on hazardous waste

A ministerial-level conference (Piriapolis, Uruguay, 3-4 December) of countries that have ratified the 1989 Basel Convention on the transboundary movements and disposal of hazardous waste called on industrialized countries to ban their exports of hazardous waste to developing countries. A new expert working group is to produce guidelines on identifying and handling hazardous waste labelled recyclable.

UN guided tours mark 40th year

UN Photo 181855/I. Isaac

Guided tours of UN Headquarters started in 1952. Today, tours are conducted in 20 languages by guides from a variety of countries.

On 3 November, the UN marked the fortieth anniversary of that memorable day in 1952 when the Organization opened its doors. The first group of 15 guides gave the public a taste of what happens in and around the corridors of international power. Traffic reached its peak at UN Headquarters in 1964, when over 1,190,000 visitors took the tour. Some 33 million visitors later, in 1992, attendance averaged about 500,000 people a year. The corps of guides, now known as public information assistants, currently consists of 35 men and women from 25 countries, who conduct tours daily in some 20 languages.

During the formal commemoration of the anniversary on 11 November 1992, some 250 former and present guides congregated at Headquarters, some flying in from as far away as London, Oslo, Rome, Reykjavik, Stockholm, Tokyo and Wiesbaden.

Charts and tables . . .

What's the most populated urban agglomeration in the world? Two years ago, the best available data would have put Mexico City at the top of the list, but the latest UN population estimates find that Tokyo is first. The UN chart entitled *Urban Agglomerations, 1992*, released on 6 November, shows Tokyo with an estimated population in 1992 of 25.8 million. Sao Paulo is a distant second, with 19.2 million, followed by New York, 16.2 million, Mexico City, 15.3 million and Shanghai, 14.1 million.

Aggregate net resource flows to middle income developing countries increased 130 per cent in the last three years, according to the World Debt Tables for 1992-1993, published on 17 December by the World Bank. However, few low-income developing countries benefited from this resurgence of private capital flows, and most remained dependent on official sources to finance development projects.

More resources needed to fight AIDS in developing countries

The world should spend at least 20 times more on the global fight against the acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) in the developing countries in order to have any real hope of slowing the spread of the epidemic, warned the World Health Organization (WHO) on the fifth World AIDS Day, observed on 1 December. Some $120 million was spent on AIDS prevention in developing countries in 1991, it was reported. In a message on World AIDS Day 1992—with the theme "A Community Commitment"—UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said that the disease was "as destructive as war" and required action at the planetary level, with UN coordination.

Earth Summit follow-up

The interim secretariat for the Framework Convention on the Conservation of Biological Diversity would be located in Geneva, it was announced on 30 December. Also, an agreement for a plan to promote the entry into force of the Framework Convention on Climate Change was reached in Geneva on 10 December by the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee, which had produced the Convention earlier in 1992. The restructuring of the Global Environment Facility—the interim funding mechanism for the Climate Change and Biodiversity Conventions signed at the Earth Summit—was discussed at a meeting (Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, 3-5 December) of representatives of some 40 Governments.

Preparations for the Earth Council, an independent organization to follow up on the commitments made at the Earth Summit, proceeded throughout the last months of 1992, with the intention of establishing the Council, with headquarters in San José, Costa Rica, in the spring of 1993. It is envisioned as a non-governmental entity recognized by Governments, the UN and the international community as an "important counterpart" in ensuring follow-up and implementation of the decisions taken at the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). The Chairman of the Council's Organizing Committee is Maurice Strong, who was UNCED's Secretary-General.

Speedier phase-out of ozone-harming chemicals

The ozone layer experienced its greatest deterioration ever in 1992, according to scientific observations from the World Meteorological Organization and the UN Environment Programme. Responding to the worsening situation, ministers and officials from 74 countries and the European Community on 25 November agreed to a speedier phase-out of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) and other ozone-depleting chemicals at a meeting in Copenhagen. CFCs and carbon tetrachloride are to be completely phased out by 1996, four years ahead of schedule. Halons, used in fire extinguishers, and methyl chloroform, used in dry-cleaning, are also to be eliminated earlier than envisioned by the 1987 Montreal Protocol.

UN opens offices in former Soviet republics

In 1992, the UN opened offices in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan, and sent fact-finding or goodwill missions "each time we have been asked to", the Secretary-General stated. "We are involved, and we want to be involved. We are ready to be involved directly or to be involved in cooperation with the Commonwealth to promote peace. We are studying in certain cases the sending of on-the-spot observers, and we already have an observer in certain regions of those different Republics."

In the last quarter of 1992, the UN sent missions to: Georgia (13-16 October); Latvia (27-30 October); Tajikistan (1-14 November); and Nagorno-Karabakh (23 November-5 December). Two emergency teams—to bring assistance to the neediest among the more than 500,000 refugees and internally displaced people in Armenia and Azerbaijan—were dispatched in December by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

Preparing for the 50th anniversary of UN

A preparatory committee to recommend suitable activities for the observance in 1995 of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations began work on 22 October, hearing a statement by the Secretary-General who suggested that the occasion could be a target date for completing all reforms of the UN. A number of anniversary programmes and activities are already under development, ranging from feature films and musical performances to special publications and educational programmes. The committee is to meet 12 times in 1993 and report to the forty-eighth Assembly.

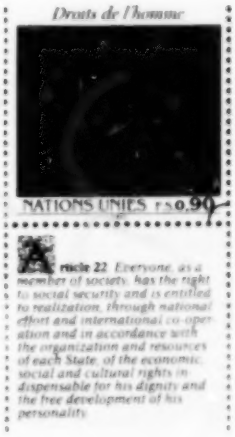
STAMP CORNER

The UN Postal Administration (UNPA) will introduce a new multi-year stamp series on endangered species on 3 March 1993. Each year, three sheets of 16 stamps are to be issued, with four different species illustrated on each sheet.

The series is intended to draw attention to the need to protect endangered species throughout the world. The 1993 annual collection depicts such rare animals as the snow leopard, the whooping crane and Grevy's zebra. It will be available for collectors in a specially designed album, with several pages of information on each of the species.

The first UNPA stamp issue for 1993—a set of six commemorative stamps on the theme: "Ageing: Dignity and Participation"—was released in February.

The new stamps:
(Clockwise from left)
Endangered species;
Ageing: Human rights



A World Assembly on Ageing was convened by the General Assembly in 1982, adopting the Vienna Plan of Action on Ageing. It was given the mandate of guaranteeing economic and social security to older persons, as well as opportunities to contribute to national development and encourage societies to respond more fully to the specific needs of older persons.

The fourth set of stamps in a multi-year series commemorating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was issued on 20 November 1992. The set illustrates Articles 19 to 24 of the Declaration. Now in its fourth year, the series will eventually reproduce the entire text of the Universal Declaration. UNPA has worked with major museums and art historians around the world to select an important work of art to accompany each of its 30 Articles.

When completed next year, the Human Rights series will form a miniature gallery of some of the world's pre-eminent art and will bring to people's attention the UN vision and work towards a world where human rights are enjoyed by everyone, UNPA states.

In December, Italian actress Sophia Loren was named Goodwill Ambassador for UNHCR.

In brief . . .

■ A training seminar covering the broad range of electoral assistance activities, from initial assessment missions through electoral monitoring, was held jointly by the Electoral Assistance Unit and the UN Institute for Training and Research from 26 October to 6 November at UN Headquarters.

■ An International Environmental Technology Centre, set up by UNEP, was inaugurated in Osaka, Japan on 30 October. It is to promote the transfer of environmentally sound technologies to developing countries and countries with economies in transition.

■ The Assembly, on the recommendation of the Special Political Committee, requested *(47/66)* the UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation to continue its work. It also urged cooperation *(47/73)* in reducing disparities in information flows by assisting the development of communication infrastructures and capabilities in developing countries.

■ By resolution 47/200, the Assembly welcomed the completion of the permanent headquarters building of the United Nations University in Tokyo, made available by the Government of Japan.

■ The Special Committee against Apartheid held a solemn meeting on 12 October at UN Headquarters in observance of the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, an annual observance since 1976.

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11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete: Susanna H. Johnston, Chief, UN Sales Section, UN Publications.

BOOKWATCH

Poverty Alleviation and Sustainable Development: Goals in Conflict?

Views and Recommendations of the Committee for Development Planning
UN Department of Economic and Social Development
United Nations Publications, New York, 1992
69 pp. $10. Sales No. E.93.IV.1
ISBN 92-1-130154-8

The Committee for Development Planning—a UN high-level advisory body of 24 experts—concludes in its latest annual assessment of international economic cooperation that "there is no conflict between development and the reduction of poverty, on the one hand, and the maintenance of the stocks of natural capital at viable levels, on the other, which cannot be resolved through changes in policies, incentives and institutions". Fragmentation and bureaucratization in the UN, however, "are suspected of making its contribution to development ineffective and wasteful", the Committee observes. In this discerning report, it calls for clarification of the UN role in the economic and social fields.

The Gulf Conflict, 1990-1991 Diplomacy and War in the New World Order

Lawrence Freedman and Efraim Karsh
Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993
504 pp. $29.95. ISBN 0-691-08627-3

The authors, members of the Department of War Studies at King's College, London, conclude their detailed account of the Gulf war by observing that its lessons are uncertain, because "future conflicts are likely to be politically much more complex from the start and, in consequence, carry with them a higher military risk". Using a wide range of sources that reveal American, European, Soviet and Middle Eastern thought and action, Freedman and Karsh have succeeded in writing what they call a "detached and systematic inquiry" that many will consider definitive until the official archives are opened for study.

For the Rights of the Palestinians: The Work of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People

UN Department of Public Information
United Nations, New York, 1992, 48 pp.

Established by the General Assembly in November 1975, the Committee has as its primary mandate the making of recommendations designed to foster those rights. The Committee's full history has yet to appear, but this balanced and well-written review of its work, however brief, offers useful insights on the question of Palestine at the UN.

Books in Print of the United Nations System—First Edition

Compiled by the Advisory Committee for the Co-ordination of Information Systems (ACCIS)
United Nations, New York, 1992
721 pp. $50. Sales No. GV.E.92.0.18
ISBN 92-1-100379-2

Here is the first edition of a major bibliography that will quickly become indispensable for the study of international affairs. The 14,339 books published by the UN system—and still in print—have been collected under descriptive subject headings. Specific titles, as well as publication series, are easily found in well-designed indices. Planned as an experiment to allow its usefulness to be evaluated, this new bibliography is a notable achievement.

Mines: A Perverse Use of Technology

International Committee of the Red Cross
ICRC Publications, Geneva, 1992, 19 pp.

International humanitarian law prohibits the indiscriminate use of land mines, but thousands of civilians are maimed or killed by them each year. Difficult to detect and lacking neutralizing mechanisms, mines numbering in the millions remain in place years after the end of hostilities. Libya, for example, still bears the burden of extensive minefields from the Second World War. To further its campaign against this "perverse use of technology", ICRC has issued an eloquent and searing work. The brief text and color photographs of the wounds and the wounded are cries for action that readers will find impossible to ignore.

A New South Africa in the Making: Role of the United Nations

UN Department of Political Affairs, Centre Against Apartheid
United Nations, New York 1992, 106 pp.

From a seminar convened by the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Centre Against Apartheid, held at Windhoek in May 1992, comes this helpful collection of papers on the socio-economic problems of South Africa and the potential role of the UN. South African policymakers and senior UN representatives at the seminar exchanged views on these matters. Included are papers about conditions in South Africa, job creation, economic policy, technical cooperation for development and a guide to UN offices and agencies. The book reveals the "immensity of the task" any future government of South Africa would face in overcoming the effects of apartheid.

Reviewed by Professor Harold Fruchtbaum
Columbia University, New York

COMING UP

A preview of some important United Nations conferences and events

April-June 1993

New York

5-15 April	Commission on Transnational Corporations, 19th session
19 April-14 May	Disarmament Commission
10-14 May	Committee for Programme and Coordination, 33rd session, first part
10-14 May	Preparatory Committee for the 1995 Conference of the States Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, first session
10-28 May	Committee on Information, 15th session
11-21 May	Trusteeship Council, 60th session
7-18 June	Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, 36th session

Geneva

19-26 April	Economic Commission for Europe, 43th session
19-30 April	Committee against Torture, 10th session
April	Preparatory Committee for the World Conference on Human Rights, fourth session
3 May-23 July	International Law Commission, 45th session
May	WHO—World Health Assembly, 46th session
May-June	Conference on Disarmament, second part
2-22 June	ILO—General Conference, 80th session
28 June-30 July	Economic and Social Council, substantive session

Vienna

13-23 April	Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, second session
17-28 May	UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, 42nd session
14-25 June	World Conference on Human Rights

Other locations

2-5 April	Meeting between the UN Secretariat and the Organization of African Unity, Addis Ababa
19-21 April	Administrative Committee on Coordination, first regular session, Rome
25 April-5 May	Commission on Human Settlements, 14th session, Nairobi

Membership of Principal United Nations Organs in 1993

General Assembly

The General Assembly is composed of all 180 United Nations Member States:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, *Argentina, Armenia, *Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, *Belarus, *Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, *Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Botswana, *Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, *Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, *Chile, *China, *Colombia, Comoros, Congo, *Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, *Cuba, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, *Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, *Dominican Republic, *Ecuador, *Egypt, *El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Estonia, *Ethiopia, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Finland, *France, Gabon, Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, *Greece, Grenada, *Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, *Haiti, *Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, *India, Indonesia, *Iran, *Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Latvia, *Lebanon, Lesotho, *Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, *Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mauritius, *Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, *Netherlands, *New Zealand, *Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, *Norway, Oman, Pakistan, *Panama, Papua New Guinea, *Paraguay, *Peru, *Philippines, *Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, San Marino, Sao Tome and Principe, *Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, Somalia, *South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, *Syrian Arab Republic, Tajikistan, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, *Turkey, Turkmenistan, Uganda, *Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, *United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, *United States, *Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Vanuatu, *Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, *Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Founding Member

Security Council

The Security Council has 15 members. The Charter has designated five States as permanent members, and the General Assembly elects 10 other members for two-year terms. The term of office of each non-permanent member of the Council ends on 31 December of the year indicated in parentheses below.

The five permanent members of the Security Council are: China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, the United States.

The 10 non-permanent members of the Security Council in 1993 are: Brazil (1994), Cape Verde (1993), Djibouti (1994), Hungary (1993), Japan (1993), Morocco (1993), New Zealand (1994), Pakistan (1994), Spain (1994), Venezuela (1993).

Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council has 54 members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly. The term of office for each member expires on 31 December of the year indicated in parentheses below. In 1993, the Council is composed of the following 54 States:

Angola (1994), Argentina (1993), Australia (1994), Austria (1993), Bahamas (1995), Bangladesh (1994), Belarus (1994), Belgium (1994), Benin (1994), Bhutan (1995), Botswana (1993), Brazil (1994), Canada (1995), Chile (1993), China (1995), Colombia (1994), Cuba (1995), Denmark (1995), Ethiopia (1994), France (1993), Gabon (1995), Germany (1993), Guinea (1993), India (1994), Italy (1994), Japan (1993), Kuwait (1994), Libya (1995), Madagascar (1994), Malaysia (1993), Mexico (1995), Morocco (1993), Nigeria (1995), Norway (1995), Peru (1993), Philippines (1994), Poland (1994), Republic of Korea (1995), Romania (1995), Russian Federation (1995), Somalia (1993), Spain (1993), Sri Lanka (1995), Suriname (1994), Swaziland (1994), Syrian Arab Republic (1993), Togo (1993), Trinidad and Tobago (1993), Turkey (1993), Ukraine (1995), United Kingdom (1995), United States (1994), Yugoslavia (1993), Zaire (1995).

Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council has five members—China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States—which are also the five permanent members of the Security Council.

International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice has 15 members, elected by both the General Assembly and the Security Council. Judges hold nine-year terms, which end on 5 February of the year indicated in parentheses below.

The Judges, listed in their official order of precedence, are:

Sir Robert Yewdall Jennings of the United Kingdom (2000), Shigeru Oda of Japan (1994), Manfred Lachs of Poland (1994)*, Roberto Ago of Italy (1997), Stephen M. Schwebel of the United States (1997), Mohammed Bedjaoui of Algeria (1997), Ni Zhengyu of China (1994), Jens Evensen of Norway (1994), Nikolai K. Tarassov of the Russian Federation (1997), Gilbert Guillaume of France (2000), Mohamed Shahabuddeen of Guyana (1997), Andrés Aguilar Mawdsley of Venezuela (2000), Christopher G. Weeramantry of Sri Lanka (2000) and Raymond Ranjeva of Madagascar (2000), Bola Ajibola of Nigeria (1994).

* Judge Manfred Lachs died on 14 January. The election to fill the vacancy will take place on 10 May.

UNITED NATIONS

VIENNA, AUSTRIA
JUNE 1993

HUMAN RIGHTS